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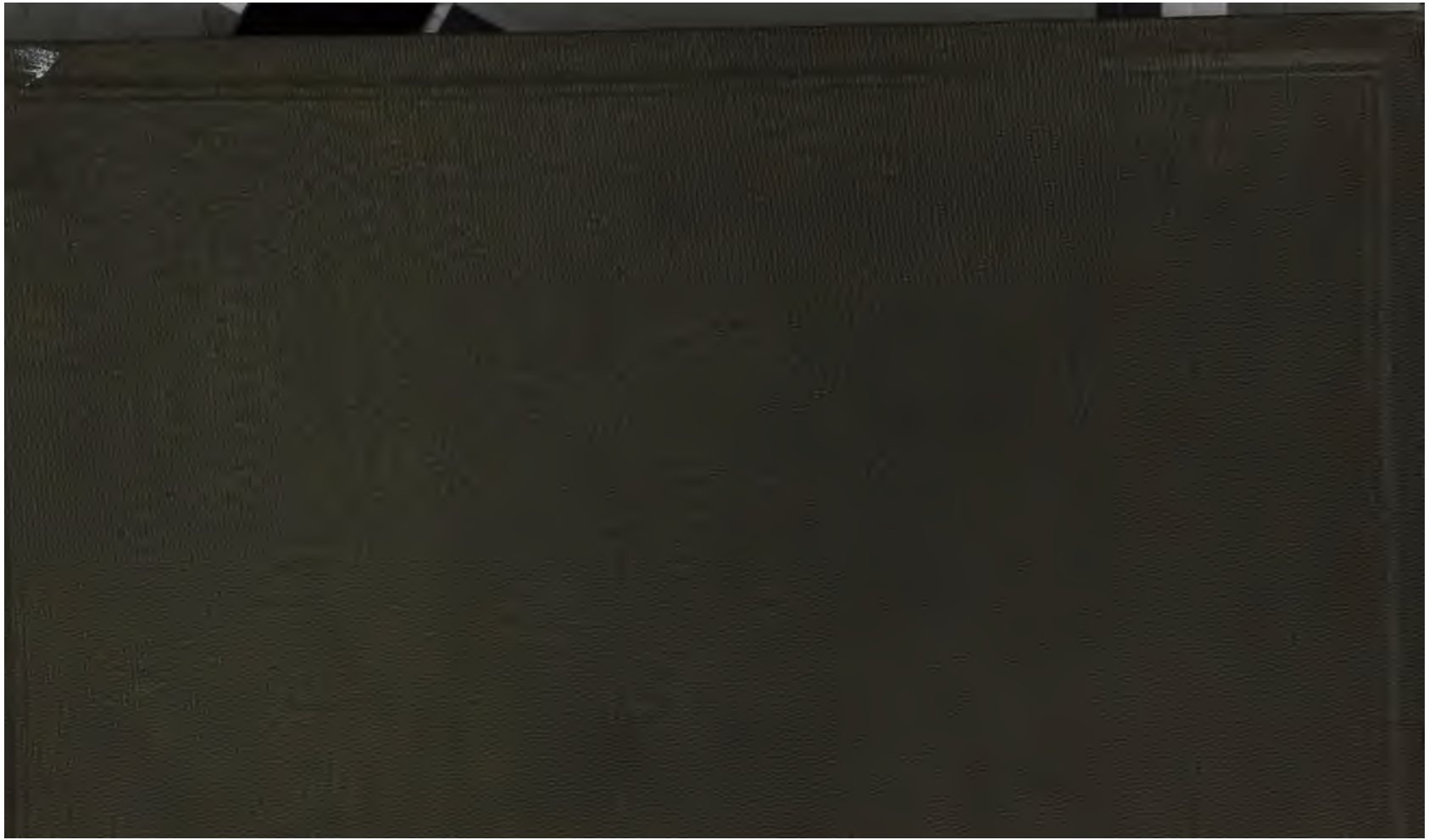

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CHRONICLE

OF

THE WAR BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE SCOTS

IN 1173 AND 1174.

BY JORDAN FANTOSME,

SPIRITUAL CHANCELLOR OF THE DIOCESE OF WINCHESTER.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED, WITH

A TRANSLATION, AN INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND AN APPENDIX,

BY FRANCISQUE MICHEL,

F. S. A. Lond. and Edinb.

KNIGHT OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR AND OF ISABEL THE CATHOLIC OF SPAIN,
MEMBER OF THE "COMITÉ DES CHARTES, CHRONIQUES, ET INSCRIPTIONS"
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INTRODUCTION.

The metrical chronicle, which we publish here for the first time, has reference to the war which Henry II sustained against his eldest son, and chiefly against William the Lion, king of Scotland, in 1173 and 1174. Before we speak of the poem itself, of its author, and of the manuscripts wherein it is preserved, we beg leave to say a few words concerning the events which he has related, although there are many accounts of them in the general histories of England, and more especially in those of the reign of Henry II [1].

Henry II had summoned his eldest son, named Henry like himself, to succeed him as king of England [2], duke

[1] *The History of the Life of King Henry the second, and of the Age in which he lived, in five Books: to which is prefixed a History of the Revolutions of England from the Death of Edward the Confessor to the Birth of Henry the second.* By George Lord Lyttleton. Vol. III. London: printed for G. Dodsley, in Pall Mall. MDCCLXXI. p. 107-153.

The History of the Reign of Henry the second, and of Richard and John, his Sons; with the Events of the Period, from 1154 *to* 1216. *In which the Character of Thomas a Becket is vindicated from the Attacks of George Lord Lyttelton.* By the Rev. Joseph Berington. Basil: printed and sold by J.-J. Tourneisen. MDCCXCIII. Three volumes 8°, vol. II, book III, p. 28-52.

[2] He was crowned and consecrated king of England by the hands of Roger, archbishop of York, in 1170, Thomas Becket being then exiled in France. See *Guillelmi Neubrigensis de rebus Anglicis liber secundus* (Rec. des Hist. des Gaules, vol. XIII, p. 111, D); *Gervasii Dorobernensis Chronicon de Regibus Angliæ* (Ibid., p. 134, C); *Benedictus abbas Petroburgensis* (Ibid., p. 143, A); *Imagines historiarum autore Radulfo de Diceto* (Ibid., p. 188, E); *Giraldi Cambrensis de Hibernia expugnata liber II* (Ibid., p. 216, D); *Roberti de Monte Appendix ad Sigibertum* (Ibid., p. 313, E); *Andreæ Marcianensis prioris Chronicon de Regibus Francorum* (Ibid., p. 422, A); *Johannis Iperii Chronicon Sithiense S. Bertini* (Ibid., p. 474, A); *Chronicon Willelmi Godelli monachi S. Martialis Lemovicensis* (Ibid., p. 677, B); *Chronicon Alberici Trium-Fontium monachi* (Ibid., p. 712, A); *Radulfi Coggeshale Chronicon Anglicanum* (Amplissima Collectio, vol. V, col. 809, D).

of Normandy, and count of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; Richard his second son was to possess the duchy of Guyenne and the county of Poitou; Geoffrey, who came next, was heir to the duchy of Britany in right of his wife Constance, daughter of Conan IV surnamed the Little [1]; and Ireland, which had not long been brought into subjection, was destined, it appears, for John, his fourth son, surnamed Lack-Land, or Sans-Terre. All this, however, instead of completely satisfying the young princes, and attaching them the more, as it ought to have done, to their father, gave birth in their breasts to a mad spirit of pride and ambition which is in general only the apanage of a more advanced period of life; while black ingratitude was destined, as with king Lear, to become the reward of the foolish bounty of one of his successors.

By the advice of the two cardinal legates, Theodine and Albert, the young king had again been crowned at Winchester together with his consort Margaret, daughter of Louis VII and Constance of Spain, by the hands of Rotrou archbishop of Rouen, with the intention at the same time of gratifying the king of France who was displeased at his daughter not having assisted at the first coronation [2]. Soon after they returned to Normandy, and then they proceeded to the court of the king of France. Louis, who had never been a very warm friend to Henry, and who was still more alarmed at the increase of his power, was not long before he discovered in the character of his son in law a disposition which, in a political sense, he was able to turn to his own advantage. He insinuated to him that his coronation had been in reality a purely illusive ceremonial; that the smallness of his state harmonized but little with his supreme title, and with the wealth of his father; that to be a king without a kingdom might flatter his father's ambition,

[1] *Rob. de Monte* (Rec. des Hist. des Gaules, vol. XIII, p. 310, A).

[2] *Gerv. Dorob.* (Recueil des Hist. des Gaules, vol. XIII, p. 135, C); *Bened. Petrob.* (Ibid., p. 147, A); *Rad. de Diceto* (Ibid., p. 190, C); *Rob. de Monte* (Ibid., p. 315, D).

but was a degradation to the son; and that he ought to demand possession of the kingdom of England, or at all events of the duchy of Normandy. The young prince of ardent temperament, whose ambition needed no stimulant, and who was burning to be independent, lent a willing ear to these insinuations, which however were perhaps not thrown out by Louis with the intent of exciting a sacrilegious revolt. The character of this monarch, as far as we are acquainted with it, removes the idea that he could have meditated any such perfidy; and probably he did not foresee the conflagration which his imprudent words were calculated to give rise to. However this may be, the young Henry was not slow in making the demand, which he had been advised to do, of his father, and to which the latter refused to accede [1].

In 1173, Henry II and the royal family, that is to say queen Eleanor, Henry, Richard and Geoffrey, their sons, celebrated the festival of Christmas at Chinon in Anjou. From thence the king set out with all his court for Montferrand in Auvergne, where he was to have a conference with Humbert, count of Savoy, in order to settle about a marriage between John the youngest of his sons, who had not yet attained his eighth year, and Aalis, the eldest daughter of the count. The offers with which the latter accompanied his daughter's hand were highly suitable and honorable [2]; and they were accepted without hesitation. In return the king proposed to endow his son with the three important castles of Mirebeau, Chinon and Loudun, together with their dependencies. This was not approved of by the young king, and he positively refused to accede to it: the court retired exposed to feelings of anger and disappointment.

Eleanor born to be a source of misfortune to several kings, who had been neglected, as it was said, by Henry, and whose southern temperament could hardly bear an

[1] Guilliel. Neubrig., cap. xxxvii (Appendix to this volume, p. 141); Gervas. Dorob. (ibid., p. 150); Bened. Petrob. (ibid., p. 152, 153), etc.

[2] They are contained in a charter which may be read in the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, vol. XIII, p. 148, note *b*.

insult of such a nature, seized on an opportunity of avenging herself. She excited the passionate feeling of her son, and warmly exhorted him to claim without delay the rights and privileges attached to his title as king. This wicked wife did not however confine herself to this; she joined with him as accomplices in his schemes her two other sons, and promised herself to follow the standard of revolt, and support it with all her influence [1].

From Limoges, whither Humbert had followed the English court, Henry II hastened to return into Normandy, taking his eldest son with him. On arriving at Chinon he stopped there to pass the night; and the young Henry took advantage of the circumstance to go on before, without permission, so that he arrived next day at Alençon and the day following at Argentan. His father set out to pursue him, and the night that the latter was at Argentan the former was at Alençon. On the same night the young prince proceeded to take refuge with his father-in-law at Saint-Denis [2], where he was soon after joined by his brothers; but their mother, having been discovered in the disguise of a man, was put into prison. Only the infant John remained with his father. Meanwhile a great number of knights and barons came over simultaneously to the side of the rebels; thus preferring to abandon their fortunes for the chances of sacrilegious revolt, whereby they could gain nothing but disgrace, perhaps even death if it should fail, rather than to endeavour to deserve new favours at the hands of their legitimate sovereign. Henry was not cast down by what had happened; when he was aware of the real intentions of his son, he gave up pursuing him, and returning back again, visited without a moment 's delay his castles of the Vexin and Normandy, causing them to be put in a proper state of defence. At the same time

[1] Guill. Neubrig. (App., p. 142); Gervas. Dorob. (ibid., p. 150); Bened. Petrob. (ibid., p. 153), etc.

[2] Fantosme, l. 26. Berington says that the young Henry escaped to his father-in-law at Chartres; but we cannot discover where this historian found this indication. See p. 30 of his book quoted above.

he sent letters to England, and into the provinces, with instructions for their respective governors [1].

While this was going on, the young Henry was receiving at the court of the king of France the homage of his admirers and flatterers; every body too believed and gave out that they were on the eve of a happy revolution. His agents, dispersed on every side, promised a profusion of largesses, recompences and honors, and drew an insidious parallel between the striking virtues of the young prince and the defects which malevolence or discontent had caused to be observed in the "old king",— for so it was that he was designated, though he had scarcely attained the age of forty years. All this had such success that the defection was not confined to the localities nearest situated to him who had given the signal of it, but it extended even to England and the distant provinces subject to Henry II. Louis hereupon convoked an assembly at Saint-Denis [2], at which, among other lords, Philip count of Flanders, Matthew count of Boulogne his brother, and Thibaud count of Chartres and Blois were present. All entered into a league and bound themselves by an oath. In return for this the young Henry gave up to them some lands and castles in England, Touraine and Normandy, for which they did homage to him. Several other French lords obtained similar donations; and in England the great barons renounced the service of their sovereign with the hope, not much to their honor, of seeing new changes, and of giving themselves up to rapine. William the Lion king of Scotland, and his brother David ranged themselves on the side of the rebels under a promise made to them that they should receive three English counties. The winter was spent in preparations for the sacrilegious war which was about to break out [3].

[1] Gervas. Dorob. (App., p. 150); Bened. Petrob. (ibid., p. 153); Rob. de Monte (ibid., p. 189).

[2] Fantosme, l. 31. Benedictus says that this council was held at Paris (Appendix, p. 154). So says Roger de Hoveden.

[3] Guill. Neubrig., cap. xxvii (App., p. 142); Gervas. Dorob. (ibid., p. 150); Bened. Petrob. (ibid., p. 154, 155); Rad. de Diceto (ibid., p. 174); Rog. de Hoveden (ibid., p. 181).

The old king, though astonished at the danger of his situation, was aware of all its extent; he had no means of averting it, and he was every moment of the day informed of some new treason. On this subject men's minds were divided: some more strongly imbued with the ideas of the epoch than others, saw in the tempest about to burst over the head of Henry II nothing but the punishment deserved by that prince for the murder of Thomas a Becket; while others considered it only as an event easy to be accounted for upon the ordinary principles of human actions. Henry a prey to anxiety at seeing himself abandoned by those very persons who ought to have supported him, called into his service a formidable body of mercenaries, who where then without distinction called Brabançons [1] or Routiers, and attached them firmly to him by high pay. With the aid of these troops, he put the most important points of the frontier in a proper state of defence, and withdrew with the main body of his army to Rouen, where he watched the first movements of the enemy.

In the month of June the princes leagued against the king of England commenced hostilities. Philip count of Flanders and Matthew count of Boulogne, his brother, entering into Normandy by the side of Picardy besieged the town of Aumale and took it; then continuing their march, they laid siege to Neufchastel, which surrendered after a few days defence. The count of Flanders derived nothing but tears from this advantage; for his brother

[1] We have thus translated that name, which is variously written in the Latin manuscripts of this epoch, where we find *Brebantiones, Brebiciones, Brebenzones, Bribantiones, Brebationes, Brebantini, Brabanceni, Braibanceni, Brebatii*, and *Brabantiones*, which reading is much better; for it is the name of the natives of the Brabant, a province of Belgium, from which these mercenaries seem to have originated. See du Cange's Glossary, v° BRABANCIONES; and D. Carpentier's Supplement, v° BRACBANÇONNES. A great number of them entered into young Henry's service on account of his outbidding his father's bargain. Thereupon, Richard archbishop of Canterbury writing to the young rebel, scolds him thus: "Et unde hoc tibi quod Brebantionum factus es ductor, gentique excommunicatæ et perditissimæ adhæsisti, ut perderes devotissimam tibi gentem? In quo offendit, in quo gratiam tuam demeruit pater tuus?" *Petri Blesensis Bathoniensis in Anglia Archidiaconi Opera omnia*..... Parisiis, sumptibus Simeonis Piget, M.DC.LXVII, folio, p. 69, epist. XLVII.

Matthew, whom he hoped to have for his successor (since he had never had any children by his wife and had no hopes of any), was wounded by an arrow near the knee during the siege of this town, and died a few days after. The count thought he saw in this event the finger of God, and withdrew, attributing all the wrong to himself, to him who, in order to aid a rebellious son, had treated as his enemy a king who was his near relation, and of whom he had not only no cause to complain, but to whom he was under obligation for many benefits received [1].

On learning this news, Henry finding himself freed from one half of his enemies, felt himself the more emboldened to face the other. Meanwhile Louis and the young king of England were before Verneuil, a town strongly situated and composed of three distinct boroughs, besides the castle, the principal of which called the Queen's Borough [2] or the Great Borough [3], and defended by Hugh de Lacy and Hugh de Beauchamp, became the chief point of attack. But at the end of a month, provisions failing, they were so far reduced as to promise a surrender, if within three days, they had no succour. It came; for the old king having assembled his mercenary troops, and all on whom he thought he could rely in that crisis, sent word to the king of France that he should either raise the siege or settle a day for giving battle. At first the French proud of their numbers and imposing appearance, turned this communication into ridicule, and thought he would never dare to encounter them. But having learnt that he was advancing without shewing any signs of alarm, at the head of a well ordered army, they began to suspect that he would in fact make an attempt of some kind or other. Louis therefore having called all his barons together, held council with them relative to the actual war, and sent to the king of England a bishop and an abbot, who were to learn from

[1] Guill. Neubr. cap. xxviii (Appendix, p. 143).
[2] Rad. de Diceto (App., p. 175).
[3] Bened. Petrob. (App., p. 158).

his own mouth whether he was coming with the intent of giving battle; while Louis meantime continued to draw together his troops. The two prelates having delivered their message, Henry replied to them with a threatening countenance and a voice of thunder: "Go and tell your king that in a moment I am at his service." The messengers on their return to the king of France informed him of this haughty answer; and the latter, after having consulted with his barons, proposed a conference to Henry, for which purpose one day's truce was concluded between them. This day, however, was dishonoured by an act of perfidy: for the French taking advantage of the armistice, summoned the garrison to surrender in consequence of the understanding which they had come to with the burgesses; and without paying any attention to his oath, Louis set fire to the Queen's Borough, pillaged it, made prisoners of all whom he could find in it, and again taking horse hastened into his own country. The baggage left behind by the French fell into the hands of the Normans, who came after them, and into these of the besieged. As for the provisions which the French army had brought with them, they fell into the hands of the Brabançons and the inhabitants of the frontier. This took place on the fifth of the ides of August [1].

From Verneuil the king caused his mercenary troops to pass into Britany, where a considerable body of rebels had assembled at Dol. The latter, after being defeated in a pitched battle, retired into the town, which was soon taken; and they took refuge in the castle, where they were besieged by the Brabançons, the knights of Henry, and the people of Avranches. All this was rapidly made known to Henry, who was at Rouen. Without losing a single moment, nor stopping anywhere but at Tinchebray, where he slept a short time, he traversed with incredible celerity, and by many times changing

[1] Guill. Neubr., cap. XXVIII (App., p. 143); Bened. Petrob. (ibid., p. 158); Rad. de Diceto (ibid., p. 175); Rog. de Hoveden (ibid., p. 182); Rob. de Monte (ibid., p. 189).

horses, the long tract that separated him from Dol; and he was preparing to lay siege to it when the multitudes shut up in it, and ill at ease for want of provisions, implored his mercy, and surrendered at discretion. The king granted them their lives, and sent part of them into his fortresses to be imprisoned; the rest he kept near his person, giving them personal liberty after having first required hostages from them. Among those whom Henry had thus put in a condition that they could do no harm to him, were Hugh Kevelioc earl of Chester, Raoul count of Fougeres, and a hundred other nobles who had signalized themselves by their hatred towards him. Other barons who were in the same case, such as Asculf of Saint-Hilaire and William Patric, had been taken in the battle of which we have spoken, and conducted to Pontorson. Another lord, Eude de Porhoët, who had been unwilling to remain with Raoul de Fougeres, had gone off to Porhoet, had fortified Château-Joscelin, and had taken the castle of Ploasmel. The capture of the castle of Dol was followed soon after by the submission of the rest of the province and the castles [1].

This rapid series of successes, which were far from being expected, discouraged the rebels, and they made proposals to Henry for an interview through the medium of the papal legate. This interview took place between Gisors and Trie. On one side was the king of France accompanied by the three sons of Henry, and a numerous suite of archbishops, bishops, counts and barons of his kingdom. On the other, Henry presented himself with a cortege not less imposing than the former. Giving way to his paternal tenderness, the English monarch proposed an arrangement of the most advantageous kind to his sons. To the eldest he offered the half of his revenues in England, or in Normandy, at his choice, with a suitable number of castles to serve as

[1] Guill. Neubrig., cap. XXXIX (App., p. 144); Bened. Petrob. (ibid., p. 162-164); Rog. de Hoveden (ibid., p. 183); Rob. de Monte (ibid., p. 190, 191), etc.

royal residences. Similar conditions were proposed to Richard and Geoffroy for Britany and Aquitaine, while Henry reserved to himself his right of sovereignty and of the administration of justice. This reserve was probably displeasing to Louis, for he rejected the proposals; and the conference produced no further result [1], though it was terminated by a striking incident: Robert earl of Leicester forgot the respect due to his king to such a degree as to launch out against Henry II in invectives and insulting expressions; he even put his hand on his sword to strike the king with it, but he was hindered from so doing by the persons who were present [2].

The king of France, however, alarmed at the promptitude with which Henry had subdued Britany, occupied himself in raising up new enemies against him within his own kingdom. After having consulted with his most confidential advisers, he sent letters to the king of Scotland in the name of young Henry, in which he reproached that monarch for his inactivity and exhorted him to abandon it, giving at the same time a promise that he should be put in possession of the land which his ancestors had once held: that is to say the land north of the Tyne or Northumberland, and the counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland. This message put William king of Scotland in great perplexity; and he summoned his council to aid him in his decision on the subject. By the advice of Duncan earl of Fife, William sent messengers to the old king, Henry II, whom they found in Normandy; and a monk, William Dolepene who was at their head, addressed the monarch in these terms: "The king of Scotland, who sends me to you, charges me to tell you that as an affectionate and faithfull relative he is fully inclined to aid you in the difficult circumstances in which you are placed; that within a month he can come to your aid at the head of 1000 armed knights, and 30000 men not mounted; and that for this he demands no remuneration from you; he

[1] Bened. Petrob. (App., p. 164).
[2] Hoveden, in our Appendix, p. 184, l. 29.

claims from you only what is his lawful due, that is to say, first of all Northumberland, to which no one has so good a right as himself, as he offers to maintain and prove immediately by a single knight in *champ-clos*, against whosoever wishes to affirm the contrary. If you desire to keep back his inheritance from him and refuse to grant him his demand, I am to return you his homage, which he renounces." Henry replied by a formal refusal, and dismissed the bearers of this proposition with instructions to charge David, brother of William and earl of Huntingdon, to come to his aid with all his men; and that in return he would grant him what he might like in lands and fiefs. The messengers, on arriving safely in Scotland, delivered this answer to the king and his barons. Among these the younger ones, who longed for a war in which they might be able to gain glory and booty, exclaimed that if William refused to declare war against the king who treated him in this manner, he would be unfit to reign; and that he ought to make himself the serf of the son of the empress Matilda. Unfortunately for William, he had not then near his person his prudent chancellor Engelram, bishop of Glasgow. That prelate would perhaps have succeeded in counterbalancing by his authority such fatal counsels. Waltheof earl of Dunbar tried in vain to turn the king's mind to the maintenance of peace, and he got nothing but harsh words from his sovereign as the price of his labours. Decided upon war, William commenced by sending into Normandy a spy, whom he instructed to observe the actions of Henry II; and he next sent into Flanders messengers with letters for the young king. The Scottish monarch informed Henry of the answer from his father to his propositions, and he told the son that if he wished to keep his word towards him, he would not delay coming to his aid. William ended by asking him to send him some Flemings in order to reduce the castles which he intended to besiege. These messengers, of whom Fantosme has preserved the names, were knights and were called William de Saint-Michel and Robert de Huseville: consequently they were both ori-

ginally Normans. Both were remarkable for their prudence as well as their valour; and to these qualities they joined the advantage of speaking several languages. These agents went to Berwick on Tweed, where they embarked for Flanders, keeping as far as they could from the coasts of Durham and Yorkshire, for fear of falling into the hands of the English, and they arrived safe at their destination, where they found the young Henry [1] with king Louis and the count of Flanders. These messengers had scarcely fulfilled their commission in presence of the king and his court than the count exhorted Henry to keep his word to the king of Scotland, on condition that this monarch should carry on war without pity against his feudal sovereign. The earl of Flanders added that before fifteen days he would send to William a corps of Flemings whom the English would not be able to resist. After Philip, king Louis spoke in approval of what he had heard, and added: "The charter which you will carry into your country shall be sealed immediately. Set out therefore without loss of time, and tell the king of Scotland that all the territory which he has asked for, belongs to him." It is to be observed that in this narration, which we borrow from Fantosme, there is hardly any mention made of young Henry, to whom nevertheless the messengers had been addressed, and that he was the person the most interested in the affair. This circumstance seems to us characteristic and proves, in default of other testimony, that the young king was only a kind of crowned puppet, whom Louis made to move as he pleased without paying attention to his own inclination. The messengers having returned into Scotland had scarcely need of making known the result of their mission to let it be seen that every where the wind was turned in favour of war, and that some projects were on foot against the castle of Wark situated on the frontier. Wil-

[1] It is thus that we interpret v. 434 of Fantosme, from which it may be inferred that the two messengers of William the Lion were subjects of Henry the Young.

liam the Lion having received the answer he expected, assigned as a place of rendez-vous to his followers, Caldenlè in Selkirkshire. Thither came in crowds Scotch from all parts of the kingdom; and among them, the men from Ross and Moray were remarkable for their numbers. Earl Colbein did not fail to go thither, as well as Gilibred earl of Angus; the latter bringing with him more than 3000 Scots [1].

William the Lion directed his first efforts against Wark castle, the keeping of which had been confided by Henry to the brave Roger d'Estuteville. The latter seeing that he could not hold out long against such considerable forces, held a council of his knights and demanded in person of William a truce of forty days which would allow of his crossing the sea and asking for succours from his sovereign, agreeing at the same time to surrender if he should obtain no such assistance. The king of Scotland moved by the request of Roger, and thinking also that his efforts to get assistance might be in vain, granted him his demand. Then without losing a single moment the constable or warden of Wark sent messengers into Normandy, and went in person into England to demand assistance. These endeavours were crowned with success, for before the appointed time had arrived, he returned with such a reinforcement that he sent word to the king of Scotland of his intention to stand his ground, and to wait for the attack both of himself and his Flemings. William perceiving that the chance of the victory was no longer on his side, assembled his knights and informed them that his intention was to continue his march across Northumberland, where nobody would resist him. He added: "The bishop of Durham, whose messengers you see here present, informs me by his letters that he is willing to remain neuter, and that we have nothing to fear from him or his forces. Let us go to Alnwick, if you deem it fit, to William de Vesci whom I have not been able to conquer. If he consents to give up to me the castle of

[1] Fantosme, l. 241-477.

his father, I agree on my side to let him depart safe and sound; and I am disposed to make with him the same arrangement as I did with the constable of Wark the day before last; on this condition however that he will not take advantage of this to revictual or rebuild the castle. Let us go to Warkworth, for I am anxious to dismantle it." The Scotch army in consequence of this marched upon Alnwick, where he found William de Vesci quite prepared to receive him. Seeing this, the king went farther on, and the young constable of Alnwick forwarded letters and messengers to ask for further assistance. Meanwhile the knights, sergents at arms and other marauders of the Scotch army spread themselves over and pillaged the country near the sea coast. They also came to Warkworth, but disdained to stop there; for, on account of the bad state of its defences, Roger Fitz Richard, to whom it had been entrusted, had not been able to keep it. This brave knight was lord of Newcastle on Tyne and had no intention any more than the other Northumbrian barons of begging for quarter from the king of Scotland. The latter was aware that he could never gain possession of Newcastle except by stratagem, and his councillors advised him to march upon Carlisle, while the owners and governors of castles in Northumberland would become weaker and weaker every day before succour would arrive. To this king William replied that he wished he might be cursed, excommunicated by the mouth of a priest, and discomfited if he gave the least grace to Prudhoe, the castle of Odinel d'Humfranville. He ended by saying that although earl Henry his father had cherished and educated this baron, he would for his part treat him in a very different manner. William had the tents of himself and his counts and barons set up, and adressing himself to them said: "Mylords, what ought we to do here? As long as Prudhoe shall stand, we shall never have peace." The Flemings replied that they were ready to destroy the castle; but the leaders of the other corps which composed the Scottish army would not listen to the plan of besieging the castle of Prudhoe, nor of aiding William

in any enterprise the first result of which would be to stop them in their march. They declared that they would not continue their aid to him unless he should march onward; and they assured him that on his return he would find Northumberland reduced to submission. The ordinary councillors of William added their opinion to this declaration: "our sovereign lord, king of Scotland", it was thus they addressed him, "out of all the country to which you are entitled, Carlisle is what is the most difficult for you to conquer. Since, however, the young king consents to give you Westmoreland, why do you not go and seize on that town, the chief place of Cumberland? If Robert de Vaux, who is governor of it, will not give it up, you will order him to be thrown down from the summit of the donjon to the bottom. Lay siege therefore to Carlisle; and then cause your army to swear not to quit the place before you see the city in flames, the principal rampart changed into a mass of rubbish under the blows of your steel pick axes, and Robert de Vaux himself hung on a lofty gibbet. You will then see him falter, and you will not find him able to hold out long against you." William was pleased with this advice; he ordered his troops to pass the night there, and next day at dawn the trumpets sounded the signal for departure[1].

On arriving under the walls of Carlisle, William laid siege to it, and pressed the place vigorously; but Richard de Lucy, grand justiciary of England, who with Reginald earl of Cornwall and uncle to the king had just besieged and taken the town of Leicester, having learnt the invasion and horrible ravages of the Scots, began his march in all haste towards the north, where the grand constable Humphrey de Bohun effected a junction with him. William, having been informed by a canon that Richard de Lucy was at a short distance from his camp, where he could not fail to arrive before midnight, wished to wait for him, and to give battle; but being better advised, he determined to effect his retreat upon Roxburgh

[1] Fantosme, l. 478-629.

in Scotland, and the English army thereupon ravaged the Lothians with impunity. While these things were going on, Richard was informed by one of his messengers that the earl of Leicester, at the head of an army of Flemings, had landed on the eastern coast of England [1], where Hugh Bigod, a powerful and wary baron, had received him in his castle of Framlingham, famous for its thirteen towers and its vast extent of walls. Justly alarmed at this intelligence, the two leaders of the English army, who with the aid of the barons of the Northumberland had reduced the town of Berwick to ashes, hastened to offer a truce to the king of Scotland. The latter not being aware of their motives, accepted it; and they retired southwards. During this time the rebels commanded by the earl of Leicester had arrived in the county of Suffolk, where Dunwich, a celebrated and opulent town on the coast, was the first object of their attack. Earl Hugh Bigot did all he could to exhort the inhabitants to surrender to earl Robert Blanchemaine; and the latter threatened them on his oath with the last extremities of punishment if they did not give themselves up to his discretion. The inhabitants resisted all invitations as well as threats, and prepared for a vigorous defence. Transformed into hardy knights, they all fought, some with the bow, others by throwing stones on the assailants, which were brought to them on the walls by the young girls and women of the place. On seeing such a defence, the earl of Leicester was not inclined to carry on the siege; and he went off with Hugh Bigot into the county of Norfolk, the chief town of which was delivered up to him by stealth. They pillaged it, and returned to their camp loaded with booty [2]. It was at

[1] Fantosme says in North-Wales. See l. 820, in the Durham manuscript. We read in the Lincoln copy that this took place at Orwell in Suffolk. See p. 104, var. read. to l. 820. Lastly Radulfus de Diceto, col. 573, names Walton in Suffolk. See our Appendix, p. 176.

[2] In this account we have followed the narrative of Fantosme; but William of Newbury place the siege of Dunwich after that of Norwich. See below, p. 145, 146, cap. xxx.

Concerning the pillage of this last town, see Gervase of Canterbury, hereafter, p. 151.

this moment that the earl Hugh Bigot, having no more need of the rebel army, notified to the earl of Leicester to retire upon his own territories and within his own castles. Robert for a long time turned a deaf ear to him, because he had great dangers to go through in order to return to Leicester, the country being hostile to him, and people being on the watch for his passing through it; but full of confidence in the number and valour of his companions, who were composed of about eighty picked horsemen and from 4000 to 5000 brave foot soldiers, and being assured by Hugh de Ferrieres earl of Derby that he might go without fear throughout the whole of England, Robert decided on marching to Leicester. It was not, however, without having taken counsel of his knights. His wife took upon herself to answer for them, and she did so to the same effect as Hugh de Ferrieres. On their side the foreigners whom Robert had brought with him, remonstrated with one voice that they had not come into England to remain quiet, but to overthrow the power of Henry II, and to get his wool of which they were very desirous. " In fact", says Fantosme, " the greater part were weavers, altogether strangers to the profession of arms; they came to pillage under cover of war, for throughout the wole earth there is no land more hospitable than that of Saint-Edmund [1]. "

It was there that Humphrey de Bohun, with the earls of Cornwall, Arundel, and Gloucester, waited for him on his passage, ready to oppose it at the head of a numerous army. Robert having with him the countess his wife, who was armed at all points, was already within sight of the walls of the town, when the royal army came out into the open country, preceded by the banner of Saint-Edmund. The earl then became aware of the extent of his imprudence, and seeing the impossibility of his turning aside either to the right or to the left, he arranged his troops in battle order, and waited for the

[1] Fantosme, l. 646-1005; Bened. Petrob. (App., p. 165).
Radulfus Coggeshale says also that the earl of Leicester and his Flemings had in mind to pillage the land and abbey of Saint-Edmund. See our Appendix, p. 197.

fight. The engagement was begun by Walter Fitz Robert, who rushed the first on the Flemings, making great carnage of them, and it came to a termination almost at the same moment; for nothing could resist the shock of the royal horsemen in the plain, nor the blows of such knights as the earl of Arundel, Roger Bigod earl of Norfolk and marshal of England, Hugh de Creissi, and Robert Fitz Bernard. The countess of Leicester, as might have been expected, was the first to fly; but she did not go far, and fell into a muddy pool, where she wished to drown herself. At this instant, however, Simon de Vahull came up; he took her out of the water, and addressed some words of consolation to her [1]. The earl seeing his wife in the hands of the enemy, and his companion slain, changed colour, and soon fell himself together with Hugh du Chastel into the hands of Humphrey de Bohun and the earl of Arundel. Almost the whole of the rebel horsemen were made prisoners. As for the Flemings, the knights of the royal army only took the trouble of knocking them down; and the peasants whom the noise of the battle had collected, undertook the task of dispatching them with pitch-forks or flails, and of throwing them into pools. The prisoners of note were sent to the king in Normandy; as for the rest, they waited for orders what was to be done with them.

Henry II, as has been seen, had not neglected for his defence any of the means which human prudence suggested; non contented, however, with that, he had also recourse to the arms of the Church. He implored in the most pressing manner the assistance of pope Alexander against his rebellious children; and to stimulate his zeal, he aknowledged himself to be his vassal, and called

[1] Matthew Paris, who copies servilely Radulfus de Diceto, relates an anecdote here which is not found in that historian. The countess of Leicester had thrown in a moment of rage, into a rivulet running near there, a ring adorned with a stone of great price, not wishing that the enemy should derive much profit from taking her prisoner. See our Appendix, p. 193. Fantosme contents himself with saying that she left her rings in the mud, and that no one will find them during her life. See l. 1072.

England the patrimony of saint Peter [1]. This step gained for him the mediation of the legates; for the pope could not take a more active part than this in an affair in which Louis was any way concerned. Other bishops also wrote letters to the young king and to Eleanor his mother to try to bring about a reconciliation; but their efforts were unsuccessful [2].

A truce concluded between Henry II and Louis had suspended the war on the continent, and the hostile armies had retired to their winter quarters; but in England it was otherwise. The men at arms who were in the castles of the earl of Leicester, alarmed at what had happened to their lord, kept quiet for some time; but they soon awoke from their stupor, and as if desirous to avenge the earl, collected a multitude of robbers, and made incursions into the neighbouring counties. While these things were taking place, David brother of the king of Scotland, having received from William investiture of the earldom of Lennox in Scotland and of that of Huntingdon in England, took the oath of allegiance to him, and went into the latter country in the month of May 1174, at the head of a numerous suite of armed men. The vassals of the earl of Leicester thinking that they should act with greater boldness if they were commanded by some one of an illustrious name, selected David as their leader. He accepted the post, and at the head of his new army ravaged all the adjacent towns, and, among others, Nottingham and Northampton. Emboldened by this example, Hugh de Ferrieres and Roger de Mowbray threw off the mask which they had long wore, and came to swell the numbers of the rebels after the festival of Easter. During this time the young king did not cease from sending secret letters to the English nobles who seemed attached to his father's cause, either to tempt them with promises or to frighten them by menaces, so that he might gain them over by

[1] Pet. Blesensis epist. CXXXVI; p. 209, 210 of the edition quoted above. We have printed this letter in our Appendix. See below, p. 207, 208.

[2] Id., epist. XXXIII (printed edition, p. 54, 55) and CLIV (ibid., p. 240).

some means or other to his own side; and it so came to pass that at this moment there was hardly a noble remaining in England whose fidelity to the king was not tottering, decided as they were to separate themselves from his party sooner or later, unless circumstances should arise to alter their intentions [1].

If we now turn our attention to the continent, we shall see war again threatening Henry II. The count of Flanders forgetting the death of his brother, and desirous of obtaining the earldom of Kent, with which the young king had already invested him, collected a fleet in which, accompanied by the young Henry, he was to make a descent on England. The king of France having enrolled a considerable army, was prepared, with the aid of the dukes of Britany and Aquitaine, to invade Normandy and the other continental possessions of Henry II. As soon as all this came to his knowledge, the old king preferring to have his possessions on the other side of the Channel in danger rather than his kingdom, went over speedily into England with a small portion of his horsemen and a body of Brabançons. If he decided on acting thus, it was not without having carefully put in a state of defence his fiefs on the continent, and also because he foresaw that in England during the time he might be absent, and where it might be said it was the same as if he were not alive, no one would offer resistance to him who was expected to be his successor.

While these things were going on, that is to say after the festival of Easter, the time of the expiration of the truce, William the Lion reintered England with a numerous army of Scotch and of Flemish mercenaries, both foot and horse, and went immediately towards Wark castle, which Roger d'Estutevile had caused to be fortified; but he did not stop before it long. He caused a great number of knights to take arms during the night, and they were conducted by an English baron to Bamborough castle: a circumstance that afterwards occa-

[1] Will. Neubr., cap. xxxi (App., p. 146, 147).

sioned him much loss [1]. The Scotch entering this strong hold by surprise, slew all the inmates, whom they found asleep; and then towards morning attacked the town of Beleford, subsequently spreading themselves over the country. Some entered the towns to give themselves up to debauchery; others turned sheep stealers, and others again set fire to various places. Nothing was seen all over the country but peasants whom the Flemings had hung up with ropes. The women took refuge in the churches without having time to take their clothes, or even to think of saving any of their property; but, according to Fantosme, however great their desolation, it would have been much greater, had the Scotch been as pitiless towards the inhabitants as their allies were [2]. When the army of William was fatigued with ravaging the country, it returned into its quarters at Berwick on Tweed, laden with spoil, and driving before them numerous droves of oxen, horses, cows, and sheep. The king of Scotland, after having consulted with his barons, led his army under the walls of Wark, which was defended by Roger d'Estutevile with a garrison composed of more than twenty knights, and brave soldiers, and made an assault on it one Monday morning; but the Flemings, whom William had charged with the attack, were repulsed with loss after a long and determined combat. At sight of this disaster, the Scottish monarch, transported with shame, commanded his knights to cause their balistas to be brought up with all expedition, that they might break down the gate and possess themselves of the draw-bridge; but, marvellous to relate, the first stone that was thrown from the machine, instead of reaching the besieged, as it was intended, flew into the rear and struck one of the knights of William, and he was only saved from death by the goodness of his armour. The king of Scotland, however, caused another balista to be brought, and thought of delivering up the castle to the flames; but

[1] Fantosme, p. 54, l. 1159.
[2] Idem, p. 54, l. 1181.

seeing his army every day diminishing from sickness and the sword, he decided on effecting his retreat towards Roxburgh. The Scotch and their allies in consequence struck their camp, and left in great tumult, after setting fire to the barracks which had been erected. Roger d'Estutevile full of joy at their departure, forbad his people to utter any insulting cries against their enemies; he on the contrary exhorted them to praise God, who had preserved their lives from the fury of the king of Scotland, and of his terrible army; he did not however interdict their expressing their joy each in their own way, it being his intention to do as much. The castle of Wark therefore soon resounded, not with reproaches and insults, but with lively and amorous songs, mingled with flourishes of horns and trumpets. Roger d'Estutevile had in short good reason to be very well satisfied: the king of Scotland, notwithstanding all his efforts, had caused him no loss in killed; neither did one of his knights, nor even one of his serjeants, receive the slightest wound [1].

While these things were going on, Roger de Mowbray having left under the custody of his two eldest sons his lands, his castles, and his other domains, which they were in a state to defend, joined the king of Scotland, whose courage he tended to re-animate. They spent the night in consulting together, and decided that on the following morning they should put themselves in march for Carlisle, in order to lay siege to it. Arrived before the walls of that town, William called to him Roger de Mowbray, Adam de Port who had come to join him at the head of a strong body of knights, and Walter de Berkeley; and he charged them to summon Robert de Vaux, governor of Carlisle, immediately to surrender the place, if he would not lose his head, and cause the death of his children and the ruin of his friends. The noble messengers presented themselves before Robert de Vaux, who, clad in a haubert and leaning against a battlement, was playing with a sword, which he held in

[1] Fantosme, p. 60, l. 1320.

his hand, and they made him acquainted with their commission. He replied to them calmly that he troubled himself very little with their threats, that Carlisle was defended by a good and faithful garrison, who would not surrender while they had any provisions. "Go", added he, "to the king of Scotland your master, and tell him that I take nothing of him, neither shall I take any thing of him of fiefs or heritages; but let him go and make complaint to king Henry of what I hold by force against him the castle and tower of Carlisle; and if the king disapproves of it, let him send me a trusty messenger commanding me to surrender up on his part the castle without reserve. If he refuses that, let us two come to an agreement: give me sufficient respite that I may pass the sea and tell king Henry my master to render to William what he claims as his fief, that is to say the castle of Carlisle with its dependancies. If I receive the orders for it, the king of Scotland may be assured that I shall carry them into execution; otherwise I prefer to die on these ramparts that to surrender to him the castle of my lord." This fierce reply was brought to William, who did not think it proper to push further the siege of Carlisle. He marched on the castle of Appleby, the constable of which was the old Gospatric son of Horm, who having no garrison wherewith to defend the place, immediately surrendered. This easily acquired success acted as a balm to the heart of the king of Scotland, and he continued his route with his friend and ally Roger de Mowbray, breathing strong menaces against Henry II. This baron had presented himself before William to demand assistance from him against Geoffrey, natural son of Henry and Rosamond de Clifford, and bishop elect of Lincoln, who, at the head of his vassals and some inhabitants of Yorkshire who had remained faithful to the old king, had taken from him two castles and threatened a third called Tresch. Before leaving Appleby, the king of Scotland placed a garrison there and three constables, and then marched on Brough-under-Stanemore, which he found defended by a great number of knights. The Flemings and the men of the frontier surrounded it

on all sides, and made a fierce assault on it. The first day they took the draw-bridge, and the besieged sought refuge in the tower; but the latter did not rest long there; for fire being set to it, and seeing it on the point of reaching them, they surrendered, with the exception of a new knight who had only arrived on that day. He remained alone in the tower, and seized two shields, which he hung from the battlements; then taking three iron pointed stakes, he hurled them down on the Scotchmen and killed three of them. He afterwards took some sharp stakes, and flinging them down on his assailants, killed several of them. During this time he cried out incessantly : "You are all going to be conquered." But the fire having destroyed the rampart which protected him, that is to say his two shields, he thought he might without dishonour yield himself up [1].

The capture of Brough so alarmed Robert de Vaux, that he sent on that very day a messenger to Richard de Lucy, to inform him of the fate of this castle and of Appleby, and to express to him the fears that he was under of a new attack on the part of William. Richard encouraged him to make a vigorous defence, and promised him that he should receive news from the king in less than fifteen days from that time; which information rendered Robert de Vaux very joyful, sad as he was before [2].

Without losing a moment, Richard de Lucy wrote to king Henry some letters, which Richard of Ilchester archdeacon of Poitiers, bishop elect of Winchester, undertook to deliver in person. He found the king of England on the frontiers of Normandy, coming from pacifying the provinces of Maine, Anjou and Aquitaine [3], and occupied in seeking out with his friends, and the governors of his towns and of his castles, the best means of defending them against the redoutable attacks of the enemy. Henry hastened to demand news of his principal

[1] Fantosme, p. 60, l. 1326 — p. 68, l. 1511.
[2] Idem, p. 68, l. 1512 — p. 70, l. 1529.
[3] Bened. Petrob. (App., p. 172); Rad. de Diceto (ibid., p. 177, 178); Roger. de Hoved. (ibid., p. 187); Matth. Paris. (ibid., p. 194).

barons; and when he came to Randulf de Glanvile and to Robert de Vaux, he could not prevent himself from heaving some deep sighs and shedding tears on learning the critical position of these barons, and the frightful ravages which the Scotch had committed in Northumberland. Henry also demanded news of his barons in his city of London, and learnt that Gilbert de Munfichet had fortified his castle and spread the report that he had formed alliance with the Flemings. The old king then gave leave to Richard of Ilchester to return to England, assuring him that, if God gave him life and health, before fifteen days they should see him in London, and that he would take vengeance on his enemies. On this Henry assembled all his troops, as well as his earls and barons, and confided to their bravery and their loyalty the city of Rouen. Meanwhile the bishop elect of Winchester returned to England, and brought news of the king to Richard de Lucy, who hastened to communicate them to Robert de Vaux, who was overjoyed by them. On that very day the king of Scotland returned before Carlisle, and summoned its governor to surrender to him the city and castle, if he did not wish to see them carried by force. The brave constable replied to him, praying him to fix a term at the expiration of which he should surrender the castle to him, unless he received succours from Henry II. William acquiesced in this proposition, certain, as he said, that the time fixed on would expire without his receiving any assistance [1].

From Carlisle the Scottish army moved towards Prudhoe, to endeavour to surprize that place; but Odinel de Humfranvile had some time before put it into a good state of defence, so that it threatened to hold out. When William commenced his preparations for a siege, Odinel left to his soldiers the care of their defence, and mounting his horse, went in search of assistance. He used such exertions that he brought back with him four hundred armed knights. The siege lasted three days, during which the garrison of Prudhoe performed prodigies of valour.

[1] Fantosme, p. 70, l. 1529 — p. 74, l. 1648.

As however the defence was resolute, all the loss was on the side of the besiegers; and in order to revenge themselves, they destroyed the crops of corn, tore up the gardens, and even went so far as to rip off the bark from the apple trees. The king of Scotland seeing that he gained nothing by the siege of Prudhoe, determined on raising it; and announced first to his council, and then to his troops, that he was going to march on Alnwick, thinking to return later on Odinel, who would not get off so easily this time as he did before. He added that the Scots would ravage the country bordering on the sea, and destroy without pity every thing that came in their way, even churches and houses; whilst in another direction the men of Galloway would butcher all they found on the possessions of Odinel; in short that these two corps, after desolating the country with fire and sword, would come and reinforce the French and the Flemings who would be occupied with the siege of Alnwick. It was on a Thursday evening that the king announced this resolution to his troops, who willingly entered into his views, and on the Friday morning the trumpet sounded the signal for their departure. During the time that the French and the Flemings were occupied with the siege of Alnwick, the Scotch gave themselves up to all those excesses which had already acquired them such frightful celebrity. One day they violated the abbey of Saint-Laurent at Warkworth, inflicting on three priests the most dreadful outrage, and massacred three hundred men [1].

During this time Odinel of Humframvile at the head of some troops which he had assembled, joined himself to William d'Estutevile, Randulph de Glanville, Bernard de Baliol, and William de Vescy, and their little army was entertained by the archbishop of York, who added to it sixty of his knights. When night came, Odinel, who led them, came to Newcastle on Tyne; when

[1] Fantosme, p. 74, l. 1649 — p. 78, l. 1710. See, concerning the ravages of the Scotch in the counties of Durham and Northumberland, and the fright with which they inspired the people, *Reginaldi Libellus de admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus* (App., p. 206, 207).

there, he learnt that the king of Scotland was besieging Alnwick with a very small force. He assembled the other barons to decide on a plan of conduct. Odinel as well as Bernard de Baliol were in favor of an immediate attack on William, while he had not his Scots with him; whilst Randulph de Glanvile proposed to send a spy to ascertain the state of his forces, and to march immediately. Odinel and Roger Fitz Richard armed their best troops, and in the night [1], the barons full of resolution commenced their march in good order towards Alnwick. They advanced with an astonishing rapidity, for, heavily armed as they were, they had proceeded twenty four miles before the fifth hour, during which time they were so enveloped in a thick fog that it was with difficulty they could see their road. This circumstance, which was so favorable to them, alarmed the most prudent, who proposed to retrace their steps, in order to avoid some misfortune. At this suggestion, Bernard de Baliol, a baron of noble blood and daring courage, cried out: " Let whoever chooses take his departure; as to me, were I abandoned by the whole of you, I would not make a retreat which would stamp on my name everlasting disgrace." The confederated troops again commenced their march in advance, and the fog clearing off, they saw before them the castle of Alnwick, which gave them great pleasure; for they calculated upon being able to find an asylum there in the event of their being pursued by the enemy [2].

Meanwhile at the break of day the king of Scotland had put his helmet on, he and his 500 knights; and all expressed their conviction that no one would come and dispute with them the possession of Northumberland. To this assurance William replied: " We must wait for our army; when that arrives, we will make a

[1] We here follow the version of Fantosme, p. 80, l. 1751. As to William of Newbury, he says that they reposed themselves for the night, and did not set out until the morning: *Nocturna requie paulisper recreati, summo mane progressi sunt*, etc. See our Appendix, p. 149.

[2] Fantosme, p. 78, l. 1711 — p. 80, l. 1751; Guill. Neubr., cap. XXXIII (App., p. 148).

vigorous attack on the castle. Now, my Lords, as the heat is very great, let us to dinner." At this moment he was in the middle of the fields with an escort of about sixty knights, and little dreaming of the sudden attack of which he was shortly to become the victim. The rest of his army as well as a part of his cavalry were dispersed over the country in search of booty. The king halted before the castle, and taking off his helmet, prepared to do honour to the repast which his attendants had prepared for him. During this time the barons entered into a thicket, where they found their spy who gave them an account of everything. Randulph de Glanvile immediately gave the order to mount, which command was received with pleasure and executed with alacrity. William saw them approaching, but paid not much attention to them, thinking it was a party of his own men returning from a marauding expedition. This error was however soon apparent on view of the English banners and from the war-cries of the confederates, and he found that he had fallen into an ambuscade. He did not however lose his presence of mind; he armed in all haste, mounted his horse, and addressed himself to the few men at arms who surrounded him: "We shall now see", cried he, "who will act the part of a good knight." He had no sooner said this than he rushed on the troops of the barons, and made the foremost of them bite the dust. The contest was most severe and sanguinary, and William would have succeeded in rescuing himself, had not a soldier come near him and killed his horse with a stab of a lance. The king fell to the ground beneath his steed, and lay there, unable to make the slightest movement, until he was drawn out by Randulph de Glanvile, to whom he surrendered himself prisoner. The majority of those who formed his escort shared his fate; even those who might have saved themselves by flight did not do so, but gave themselves up without resistance to the enemy; even those nobles who were not exactly with the king, but who yet were not at a great distance from him, the moment they heard of his disaster, came and delivered themselves up as prisoners,

thinking it more honourable to share the fate of their master than to make their escape. Roger de Mowbray and Adam de Port, who happened to be there, escaped and fled into Scotland. As to the Flemings of the army of William, the English barons gave them no quarter [1].

As soon as Randulph de Glanvile found that the king of Scotland was in his power, he disarmed himself, placed his prisoner on a palfrey, and returned in the evening to Newcastle, which place he had left in the morning. William passed the night in that town, and the next day was transferred to Richmond, where he awaited, in a very narrow prison, a convenient opportunity for being sent to Henry II. The rest of the English barons, however, not content with the capture which had been made, remained and continued the combat, during which they all more or less distinguished themselves by their courage. Amongst the lords in the suite of William, there were some whose preeminent valour merited the particular mention of a writer who was an eye witness of their acts. Alain de Lanceles, one of the number, defended himself for a long time on his charger; he was very old, of a gigantic stature, and had not been engaged in combat for thirty years. But, adds Fantosme, from whom we borrow these details, he was a brave and clever knight; and, if the king had followed his advice, his affair would have terminated more successfully. Sir Alain was taken prisoner, and as he was very rich, was not released until he had paid a very heavy ransom. Another, William de Mortimer, committed as much ravage in the ranks of the barons as a mad boar would. He dealt blows on all sides, and received many in return; but they fell on him unheeded, until at last he found himself face to face with Sir Bernard de Baliol, who soon rolled him and his charger in the dust, from which he only rose to deliver himself up to his conqueror. Raoul le Roux and Richard Maluvel are also deserving of particular mention, for the valour displayed

[1] Fantosme, p. 80, l. 1752 — p. 82, l. 1822; Will. Neub., cap. XXXIII (App., p. 148).

by them on this occasion. The first fought valiantly, until finding himself assailed by more than a hundred adversaries at once, he was compelled to yield. The latter was foremost in the strife at the head of thirteen companions in arms, who all made less carnage than himself; but at length, receiving a wound in the middle of his body, he fell from his horse to the ground, upon which a crowd of his enemies threw themselves on him, calling on him to surrender, which he was most reluctantly compelled to do. The number who fell into the hands of the English in this rencontre was considerable: William de Vesci on his part alone took near one hundred prisoners; the rest were distributed between Bernard de Baliol, Walter de Bolbec, Odinel de Humfranvile, and the other barons [1]. This combat, which was so important in its results, was fought on a Saturday, the third of the Ides of July (July 13), A. D. 1174. The news of it soon spread far and near, was received with joy in every county, and was welcomed by joyous peals from the bells of all the churches in England [2].

King Henry meanwhile having been informed, as we have already stated, by Richard of Ilchester that his presence was indispensably necessary in England, prepared immediately to proceed thither; and he was enabled to do this the more promptly, as his fleet lay at anchor at Barfleur, ready to set sail at the first signal. Henry had not a moment to lose; for the count of Flander and the young king were at Gravelines, waiting only for a favorable wind to make a descent on the coast of England with all their forces. He took with him his wife Eleanor, and Margaret the wife of his son, his two children and the most renowned of his prisoners, and early in the morning of the 8th of the Ides of July (Monday, July 8) he set sail. Scarcely had the ships loosed their sails and quitted the coast, than the sea began to rise, and the wind blew in squalls, which made the sailors suspect that they should have a stormy passage. The king ob-

[1] Fantosme, p. 82, l. 1830 — p. 86, l. 1898.
[2] Guill. Neubrig., cap. xxxiii (App., p. 149).

served anxiety depicted on their countenances; but having noticed that the vessel went before the wind, that it made a direct course towards England, and that the squalls became more frequent and more violent, he lifted his eyes towards heaven, and exclaimed in the hearing of those around him: " If it is my destiny to bring peace to the clergy and to the people, if the King of Heaven has decided that my arrival shall restablish tranquillity, may he in his mercy conduct me into port safe and sound! If, in the contrary, he has turned his face from England, and has resolved to visit my kingdom in his wrath, let me never be allowed again to reach the shore! " Those who heard him utter this exclamation might think that God heard his prayers, for the king the same evening landed at Southampton [1]. Immediately on his arrival and without losing any time, the first care of Henry was to repair to the tomb of Thomas Becket. Consequently, the next day, which was Tuesday, he left the two queens, the counts of Leicester and Chester, and his brave mercenaries, who continued their route, while he mounted his horse, and, attended by a small suite, took the road to Canterbury. It was not until Friday morning that he came in sight of the tower of Christchurch in that city. He halted at the church of Saint-Dunstan, which is situate at a great distance from the place. He there alighted from his horse, took off his clothes, put on a coat of coarse worsted, and silently and in meditation proceeded barefoot a distance of three miles [2] amidst crowds of people who pressed on his steps, the imprint of which was marked with blood. On arriving at the cathedral, he proceeded to the tomb of the martyr, and prostrated himself before it. While Henry with arms extended was praying before the tomb, Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, harangued the assembled multitude, declaring to them with an oath, on the part of Henry, that the monarch had neither ordered nor wished the death of the

[1] Rad. de Diceto (App., p. 179).
[2] Rog. de Hoveden (App., p. 187).

archbishop, but that, as his murderers considered themselves authorized to commit their crime through some inconsiderate words which had fallen from him, he had demanded absolution from the bishops who were present. Henry was then scourged with rods by all the prelates, the abbots, and the monks of Christchurch who were present at the ceremony, and received from each of them three and even five blows. Not content with this penance, he remained engaged in prayer all the day and night without eating or drinking or quitting the place to satisfy any call of nature, nor would he suffer any one to place a cushion or piece of carpet underneath his knees. After the office of *Laudes*, towards the morning, he arose, visited the altars of the High Church and the bodies of the Saints which were there interred, and he again descended into the crypt near the tomb of Thomas Becket, and at the earliest hour of dawn ordered a mass to be said, at which he was present. He then resumed his former dress, drank holy water of the martyr's well, filled a decanter with it [1], and quitted Canterbury full of joy, after having offered rich presents at the tomb of saint Thomas, and endowed it with an annual sum of forty pounds for the supply of waxlights which were to burn continually round the mortal remains of the saint [2].

From Canterbury Henry proceeded to London, where he was received with all the honours due to his rank. All the citizens were clad in their holiday suits, and, mounted on their palfreys, formed a magnificent cortege which went out of the city to meet the king. Sir Henry le Blunt was the first who advanced to embrace his master, and after him such a train of barons faithful to Henry

[1] " Sancta denique martyris aqua potatus, et ampulla insignitus ", *etc.* Gervas. Dorob.

[2] Guill. Neubr., cap. XXXIV (*Rec. des Historiens des Gaules*, vol. XIII, p. 116, B); Gervas. Dorob. (App., p. 151, 152); Bened. Petrob. (ibid., p. 173); Rad. de Diceto (ibid., p. 179); Rob. de Monte (ibid., p. 191); *Epistolæ et Vita divi Thomæ...* opera et studio F. Christiani Lupi, Iprensis. Bruxellis, typis Eug: Henrici Fricx, M. DC. LXXXII, 4to, pars prima, cap. V et VI, p. 150, 151, etc.

enjoyed the same favor, that a person could well have walked a league in the time that was occupied by the ceremony. The king of England thanked his servitors for the proofs of their loyalty which they had given him, and they in their turn thanked him as their legitimate lord. " Sire ", said Gervase Suplest, " pay no attention to that. God forbid that any one should ever apply the name of traitors to the inhabitants of London! They will not commit treason even if their limbs were cut off. " — " Certainly ", replied the king, " they may boast of it; I also will be faithful to them, if they have need of me. " Conversing in this manner they accompanied his majesty as far as Westminster [1].

The inhabitants of London, full of delight at the arrival of their sovereign, made him presents and rendered him great honours; but all these could not withdraw his mind from the subject with which it was preoccupied, and from the grief which was caused him by the ravages committed by the king of Scotland and Roger de Mowbray. A prey to these melancholy thoughts, Henry was in his chamber resting on his elbow; he had at his feet a valet who was rubbing them gently, whilst he took a little nap. The most perfect stillness reigned around him, not a voice was to be heard, when a messenger panting and overcome with fatigue presented himself at the door. He called in a low voice to the chamberlain who demanded who was there: " Friend, I am a messenger; come nearer. Sir Randulph de Glanvile has sent me here to speak to the king on very important business. " — " Return to morrow morning ", said the chamberlain. " By my faith! " replied the messenger, " I wish to speak to him immediately. My master is bowed down with misfortune; allow me to enter, good chamberlain. " — " I dare not do it ", replied that officer: " the king is sleeping, you must retire. " During this colloquy Henry

[1] Fantosme, p. 88, l. 1921-1947.

awoke; he heard some one crying at the door "open, open!" and demanded who was there. "Sire", said the chamberlain, "you will soon know. It is a messenger from the North, you know him very well; he belongs to Randulph de Glanvile and is called Brien." — "By my faith!" said the king, "I am very uneasy. Randulph doubtless is in want of assistance. Let the messenger come in." Brien entered and saluted the king, who immediately addressed him: "Messenger", said he, "what news do you bring? Has the king of Scotland entered Richmond? Has Newcastle on Tyne fallen into his hands? Has Odinel de Humfranvile been taken or driven from his fiefs, and are all my barons despoiled of their lands? Messenger, by your allegiance tell me the truth! They have been badly inspired to serve me if they are not promptly avenged." — "Sire", said Brien, "lend me your attention for a while. Your barons of the North are all brave men. My master, through me, presents you his salutations and his friendship; and my mistress, whom you know very well, adds hers to them. He begs you by me not to trouble yourself, for that the king of Scotland and all his barons are prisoners." — "Tell you the truth?" cried Henry struck with surprize and joy. "Yes, sire; you will know tomorrow morning by two private messengers sent by the archbishop of York. But, I who was acquainted with the news, came off first. For four days, I have scarcely eat nor drunk nor slept: I am therefore very hungry. But, if such is your good pleasure, give me a recompense for this service." The king replied: "Be not uneasy on that head. If you have told me the truth, you shall be made rich enough. Is the king of Scotland taken? do not deceive me." — "Yes, sire", replied Brien; "let me be crucified, or hung by the neck, or butchered, if before noon tomorrow my words are not confirmed." At this fresh assurance Henry fervently thanked God, saint Thomas the martyr, and all the saints in Paradise; he dismissed the messenger, and ordered his wants to be abundantly provided for. His joy was so great, that as he could not sleep, he went to

his knights and awoke them all to inform them of the news [1].

On the following day, as Brien had announced, the messengers of the archbishop of York arrived and confirmed the report of the former. Then without any further delay, Henry took a small baton and handed it to Brien as token of investiture, giving him at the same time ten liveries of his land in return for the trouble he had taken. Released from his uneasiness, the English monarch sent messengers to David, the brother of the king of Scotland, who had shut himself up in Leicester, to summon him to deliver up that strong place into his hands, and to come and yield himself to his mercy. All this was done in the space of eight days, and, thanks to the activity and sangfroid of the king of England, added to a happy concurrence of unexpected events, the rebellion which had placed in danger the throne of Henry II and the integrity of the English monarchy, was victoriously stifled at all points. At this moment Henry learnt that the city of Rouen was besieged by the combined forces of the king of France and the count of Flanders; and as he was one of those men who think that nothing is done whilst anything remains to he done, he made preparations for crossing the sea without delay, and repaired immediately to Southampton, taking David with him; but he previously sent Brien back to the North, charging him to tell Randulph de Glanvile that he was immediately to bring the king of Scotland to him at the port where he was going to embark. Henry was obeyed, and Randulph followed by his illustrious prisoner, repaired in all haste to Southampton; but the king had not awaited their arrival: taking advantage of a favorable wind, he had crossed over into Normandy, where his faithful servant lost no time in following him with William the Lion [2].

[1] Fantosme, p. 88, l. 1948 — p. 92, l. 2029; Guill. Neubrig., cap. xxxv (ed. Th. Hearne, p. 218, 219).

[2] Fantosme, p. 92, l. 2030 — p. 94, l. 2067; Guill. Neubrig. (ed. Hearne, p. 219-225).

" The king arrived at Rouen at the first dawn of day; before night fall peace was established, and the king went into France with the grand army which he had assembled. The king is gone into France, now the war is finished." Such are the words with which Fantosme finishes his rhyming chronicle, all the importance of which we have endeavoured to appreciate in the preceding sketch, by constantly giving the particulars which it has furnished us on perhaps the most interesting epoch of the reign of Henry II, in juxtaposition with the recitals of the chroniclers already known. But before speaking of the manuscripts which have preserved to us this precious relic, before drawing up a detail of the labour of which it has been the object and the occasion, let us endeavour to present some details on the person of this Jordan Fantosme so often named in the course of this work, and to determine how far we are justified in attributing it to him.

In the second part of Palgrave's " Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth [1] " is an account of the law proceedings of Richard de Anesty in recovering certain lands belonging to him, in the years 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1162 and 1163. From this account it appears that on the 10th of April 1160, Richard de Anesty, when at Fareham near Portsmouth, met with a person who is without doubt the Fantosme of the poem. The following is an extract: " Et inveni Episcopum apud *Ferham* juxta *Portesmue*, et inde mecum reduxi Magistrum *Jordanum Fantasma* et *Nicholaum de Chandos*, qui testificarent vivâ voce quod Episcopus ante testificaverat per breve suum ". To this passage Sir Francis Palgrave adds a note as follows:

" Master Giordano Fantasma, probably an Italian by

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Period. Containing the Anglo-Saxon Policy, and the Institutions arising out of Laws and Usages which prevailed before the Conquest.* By Francis Palgrave, F. R. S. and F. S. A. Volume the first. Part I and II. 4to. London, John Murray, MDCCCXXXII; p. lxxviii.

birth [1], was one of the "clerks" of Henry of Blois [2], and a poet of some importance; for Mr. Petrie's unwearied researches have discovered a valuable metrical history of the dissentions between Henry II and his son, composed by Fantasma in Romance verse. About this time master Giordano was himself engaged in litigation with another "clerk" of Winchester, one master John Joichel, who without license from Fantasma had acted as regent of a school or college at Winchester. How or by what authority master Giordano had acquired a monopoly of instruction in that city, does not appear; but the delegates gave sentence in his favour, and his rival was enjoined to shut up his school under pain of excommunication. See Johannes Sarisburiensis ep. XIX [3]."

[1] If we trust to l. 456, he was Scotto-Norman, unless we suppose that this line was inserted for the sake of the minstrels who were to sing Fantosme's poem, or that this trouvère considered as countrymen all the inhabitants of Great Britain. At all events, we must not forget that William the Lion's messengers, whom Fantosme calls *noz (ours)*, l. 456, were before declared to be subjects to Henry the young. See l. 434.

F. M.

[2] Bishop of Winchester from 1129 to 1171, and brother to king Stephen.

[3] This letter is so important for Fantosme's biography, that we think it worth giving here at length:

ADRIANO PAPE.

Causa que vertebatur inter magistrum Jordanum Fantasma et magistrum Johannem Joichellum, clericos domini Wintoniensis super Wintoniam, tandem translata est ad audientiam nostram. Auditis ergo allegationibus magistri Jordani, et instrumentis diligenter inspectis, memorato Johanni vestra et nostra auctoritate inhibuimus ne contra voluntatem Jordani scolas regere presumeret in prefata civitate. Die vero sequenti in nostra presentia constiterunt, multa in se proponentes ad invicem: Jordanus siquidem jam dictum Johannem contra religionem fidei in predicta civitate sibi scolas usurpasse, et dampna plurima intulisse dicebat, officio nostro sibi super his satisfieri postulans. E contra Johannes se judicio sinodi super fidei lesione innocentiam suam purgasse asserebat, et magistrum J., cui similis purgatio adjudicata est, quoniam super fidei lesione similiter fuerat inpetitus, omnino defecisse dicebat, petens ut eum urgeremus vel ad purgationem ex judicio prestandam, vel ad inplendam pactionem que fide interposita dicebatur fuisse roborata. Illis itaque sic altercantibus, Johannes vestram audientiam apellavit, dicens se ostensurum quod sepe dictus Jordanus religionem fidei et sacramenti temeraverat, diem prefigens nativitatem beati Johannis. Cum vero Jordanus prolixitatem temporis causaretur, eo quod ab initio decembris usque ad finem junii terminum prorogasset, eam sepefatus Johannes in festum beati Michaelis protelavit. Nos autem questionem criminum vestre reservantes discretioni, quia de jure scolarum magistri Jordani constabat, communicato fratrum nostro-

Such are the only particulars which remain to us relative to the life of Jordan Fantosme. It appears clearly from the proceedings instituted by him against Joichel, that he was spiritual chancellor of the diocese of Winchester [1]. As to the work which is attributed to him, there is no mention of it, to our knowledge, in any book anterior to the catalogue of the manuscripts of the library of the cathedral of Durham [2], where Mr. Charles Purton Cooper became acquainted with it [3].

We have now to examine the question in order to ascertain to what point the poem which we publish is really from the pen of the chancellor of the church of Winchester. In order to decide this we have only the evidence of the work itself, where Fantosme is five times named in a manner which may appear little conclusive; but if it be remarked that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the majority of the trouvères who have taken care to hand down to us their names, employed

rum Cicestrensis, Herefordensis, Wigorniensis, episcoporum consilio, domino Wintoniensi dedimus in mandatis ne prefatum Jordanum super scolis pateretur a Johanne ulterius fatigari; et, si eum inveniret vestre et nostre auctoritatis contemptorem, ipsum publice denuntiaret anathematis vinculo innodatum. Postmodum vero elapsis paucis diebus, in nostram presentiam redierunt, Jordano veterem querelam innovante. Dicebat enim Johannem post interdictum usurpasse scolas, et in sententiam anathematis incidisse. Johannes vero hoc constantissime inficiatus est, paratus incontinenti, tactis sacrosanctis Ewangeliis jurare quod post prohibitionem nostram a magisterio destiterat. E contra Jordanus se die prefixa probaturum dicebat, assertione legittimorum testium, quod post edictum magisterium exercuerat; sed Johannes diem recipere recusavit, dicens se jam in procinctu Romani itineris esse. Vos autem auctore Domino litigiis eorum finem debitum inponetis. — *Epistolæ Gerberti...*, *Epistolæ Ioannis Saresberiensis...*, *Epistolæ Stephani... Tornacensis episcopi... nunc primum in lucem editæ e bibliotheca Papirii Massoni* (a Joanne Massono fratre ejus). Parisiis, apud Franciscum Salis, M.DC.XI, 4°, p. 94. We have collated this letter with the Latin manuscript of the Royal Library at Paris, 8625, where it begins folio 4 recto, col. 2.

[1] I find no list of the chancellors of Winchester in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* or in Le Neve's Fasti, nor is there any account of these officers in Milner's History of that church.

[2] *Codicum manuscriptorum ecclesiæ cathedralis Dunelmensis Catalogus classicus, descriptus a Thoma Rud* (ed. Jacobo Raine). Dunelmiæ, excudebat F. Humble, etc., 1825, folio; p. 311, ms. c. IV, 27, 4to.

[3] *An Account of the most important public Records of Great Britain, and the Publications of the Records Commissioners*, etc. London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1832, two volumes 8°; vol. II, p. 166.

the same means, although with more reserve and less clearness, we shall feel no scruple in leaving to Jordan Fantosme the honour of a composition which would secure his name from oblivion. It will perhaps be objected to us that in two places more particularly [1], the author of the poem appears to speak, and to call the clerk of Winchester as witness to the truth of what he says. To that we will reply that the *nus* of verse 674 refers to the jongleur, from whose mouth at that period all poems must necessarily proceed, and to the auditors to whom he incessantly addressed himself [2], an observation which in part applies to the pronoun *me* of verse 1152.

Now to speak of the merits of Fantosme's poem, besides the poetical talent which it shows, it possesses all that is required to constitute an authority and to be quoted by those who study the twelfth century. Fantosme was contemporary and an eye witness of the facts which he relates. Thus, speaking of the ravages committed in Northumberland, he exclaims:

> Ço fud enprès la Paskes, bien me deit suvenir,
> Que li reis d'Escosse cumence à revenir
> Envers Northumberlande pur guaster e hunir.
> A, Deu! cum grant damage jo lur vi avenir!
> (Page 52, line 1145.)

Farther on, continuing to relate William the Lion's progress, he says:

> Oez del rei d'Escoce cument il guerreia,
> Quant il departi de Werc cum il se purpensa:
> Mult grant chevalerie la nuit apparailla,
> Al chastel de Banesburc sempres les enveia.
> Bien cunuis le barun ki 's cunduit e ki 's guia;
> Já n'en frai parlance, kar mult perdu i a.
> (P. 52, l. 1155.)

Still lower, he exclaims:

> A, Deu! pur quei ne l' saveit Willame de Vedsci,
> Rogier d'Estutevile, les autres autresi?
> La preie fust rescuse, n'i eussent pas failli;
> Mès il ne l' sorent mie, certes ço peise mi.
> (P. 54, l. 1177.)

[1] P. 32, l. 674; p. 52, l. 1152.
[2] See, among other examples, p. 6, l. 110.

Having reached the peripety of his history, that is to say the taking of William, Fantosme, understanding all the importance of the events he has to relate, takes great care to say:

> Jo ne cunt mie fable cume cil qui ad oï,
> Mès cum celui qui i fud, e jo meismes le vi.
> (P. 80, l. 1774.)

Lastly, in his account of the capture of the Scottish monarch, he speaks thus at the end:

> Il esteit sempres pris, à mes dous oilz le vi,
> A Randulf de Glanvile ù il puis se rendi.
> (P. 82, l. 1810.)

We will quote also these two verses, which prove how conscientious Fantosme was in his narrations:

> Ki volt oïr la verité cum Norewiz fud prise,
> Jo ne fui pas el païs quant ele fut asise.
> (P. 42, l. 895.)

He knew so well even the most private details of the life of Henry II, who was still living when the Poem was composed, that in a final episode, which, in point of cleaverness of exposition, is like one of the scenes of Sir Walter Scott's tales, he informs us that Eleonore's husband caused his feet to be rubbed gently for his pleasure.

A merit which Fantosme seems to possess in a very high degree, is impartiality. Though Anglo-Norman (so we think he was) and of Henry II's party, he by no means rhymes declamatory invectives against the king's son; on the contrary, in one place, he recommends him to his father's clemency. Likewise, he praises very highly William's valour, and asserts that, if this king was taken, it is because

> Le pechié des Escoz li fait encumbrement.
> (P. 82, l. 1791.)

The manuscripts which contain the poem of Jordan Fantosme are two in number: the one preserved in the library of the dean and chapter of Durham, the other in that of the cathedral of Lincoln; both of these have

been described by us in the second report which we addressed to the minister of Public Instruction on our return from one of the literary missions which we executed some years since in Great Britain [1]. It was in one of those journeys performed in 1837, that we transcribed and collated, with the authorization of the deans and chapters of Durham and Lincoln, the chronicle of Jordan Fantosme, for the minister whose agent we were. The result of our labour, which was remitted to the minister, was transmitted by him to the first committee of the French language and literature, which, on the report of one of its members, Mr. Monmerqué, of the Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres [2], decided at once that our poem should be published by us, at the expence and under the direction of the committee; and then authorized us, after further deliberation, which took place in consequence of our observations, to have it printed for the Surtees Society. That measure should not be mentioned here without being accompanied by thanks to the members of the committee and to the minister, M. Salvandy, at present member of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Académie Françoise, who so graciously sanctioned it.

The text of the manuscript of Lincoln, it will be seen on perusing this edition, does not differ at all in essential points from that of Durham, without however our being able to affirm that the one was copied from the other, or being able to decide which the original. We may add that the pieces of which these manuscripts are composed are the same in both, and that the writing is precisely similar. On this head I am indebted, and I heartily acknowledge the obligation, to Mr. Mathew Thomson of Durham, who, not content

[1] *Collection de Documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France, publiés par ordre du Roi et par les soins du Ministre de l'Instruction publique.* — Rapports au Ministre. Paris, Imprimerie Royale, M DCCC XXXIX, 4to. Account of the Durham ms., p. 205; analysis of Fantosme's poem, p. 205-209; description of the Lincoln ms., p. 243-254.

[2] This report has been printed at Poitiers in the first series, vol. V, p. 400-418, of the *Revue Anglo-Française*, published by our friend and collegue, M. de la Fontenelle de Vaudoré; and some copies were struck off separately.

with being the first cabinet maker in the North of England, is also an artist of eminence in more than one line. We are indebted to the kindness of this gentleman for a well executed *fac-simile* of the first page of the poem of Fantosme, which circumstances over which we have no control, have prevented our annexing to this edition, but which has been of essential service to us in comparing the writing of the manuscript of Durham with that of Lincoln. However that may be, we have taken the first as the basis of our text, and have drawn from the latter, without naming the source, the variations which commence at page 97. However small may be the degree of importance attached to them, they are nevertheless not to be dispised, and have frequently been of great use to us in our translation.

Whilst speaking of this translation, we will observe that we have made it as literal as possible, to the twofold end, of proving that we fully understood the text, and also of enabling our readers to comprehend it. In a word, it is a kind of continuous glossary which presents no other merit than that of an obstinate struggle against a language which Fantosme, as it appears to me, did not write with as much purity as was desirable, which has only very recently come to be studied, and which deserves to be so much more seriously than it is at present. We have been assisted in our task by our friend Mr. Richard Gibbon Elwood, and we should willingly here record his praises, did we not fear to wound his modesty, which is even greater that his complaisance.

"Monographies studied with attention appear to me" says M. Guizot, "the surest method of making real progress in historical knowledge." A sensible truth which has not even need of such an illustrious testimony. It is in consequence of being deeply impressed with this truth that we have thought of writing a monography. With this view the text of Fantosme only forms a part of our book, where the Introduction and the Appendix occupy such a considerable place.

The first of these parts is particularly destined to pave the way for the perusal of our Anglo-Norman chronicle, and of making the importance of it to be appreciated, at the same time that we save the friends of English history the trouble of having recourse to it, by the care which we have taken to transplant into our work the substance of that of the trouvère. As to the Appendix, it is composed of quotations from the principal English and Scottish chroniclers, and of other documents bearing on our subject, the value of which we do not examine here, as this has been done more or less already by Bishop Tanner, D. Bouquet, and other distinguished scholars. This part may perhaps be found too extended, but when it is considered from what sources it has been drawn, and that however familiar they may be to erudite Englishmen, they are but rarely met with out of very extensive libraries, we shall be pardoned (we trust so at least) for a reproduction of texts which we have endeavoured to render more correct, and which avoids referring to folio volumes always inconvenient to consult, even when under our hands. In a word, we take leave of the distinguished public which forms the Surtees Society, with the consciousness of having neglected nothing which can tend to render our volume worthy of it. Without doubt it would have been more so, could we have had at our disposal all the literary treasures of London or of Paris; but confined by our functions to a commercial city 150 leagues distant from the capital, and having no scholars to assist us with their intelligence, no library where the history of the middle ages was recorded, we have been compelled to confine ourselves to the notes which we have brought from London and Scotland[1], and we have relied on the indulgence of well disposed men.

[1] Knowing that a copy of Hearne's edition of William de Newbury's chronicle was preserved in the Royal Library at Paris, we gave charge to M. Chabaille to transcribe the chapters which we wanted for our Appendix; but misled by the word *concrepantibus*, which terminates both chapters XXXIII and XXXV, he neglected transcribing the two which follow the former and which served our purpose. We ought perhaps to have re-

I know not how better to conclude this Introduction, than by returning my thanks to my friend the Rev. H. Longueville Jones, late fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge, who has kindly come forward to revise and correct the proofs of it, and to the Rev. James Raine, secretary to the Surtees Society, who during my sojourn at Durham received me with a hospitality which I can never forget, and who at a later period furnished me with the means of doing something for the history of a district and of an epoch which have always been to me full of charms.

FRANCISQUE MICHEL.

Bordeaux, 25 September 1840.

paired this omission; but as our quotations may be deemed already too extensive, especially as they are from books which are familiar to most English scholars, we do not think worth while giving these chapters in our Additions and Corrections.

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JORDAN FANTOSME'S

CHRONICLE

OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE SCOTS

IN 1173 AND 1174.

CHRONIQUE

DE LA GUERRE ENTRE LES ANGLOIS ET LES ÉCOSSOIS

EN 1173 ET 1174

PAR JORDAN FANTOSME.

Oez veraie estoire (que Deu vus benéie!)
Del mieldre curuné qui unkes fust en vie.
Talent m'est pris de faire vers, dreiz est que jo 's vus die:
Celui tieng à sage qui par autre se chastie.
Gentil rei d'Engleterre à la char très hardie,
Al curuner de vostre fiz ne vus suvienge-il mie
Ke l'umage de uost ses meins le rei d'Aubanie
Li feistes presenter, senz fei aver mentie?
Puis lur deistes ambesdous: " Deus les maldie,
Ki de vus departirad amur ne druerie!
Encuntre tutes genz del mund, en force e en aïe,
Od mun fiz seiez tenant salve ma seignurie."
Puis entre vus e vostre fiz mortel nasquid envie,
Dunt maint gentil chevalier ad puis perdu la vie,
Maint hume deschevalchié, mainte sele voidie,
Maint bon escu estroé, mainte bruine faillie.
Après icest curunement e après ceste baillie
Surportastes à vostre fiz auques de seignurie,
Tolistes lui ses volentés, n'en pot aver baillie:
Là crut guerre senz amur, Damnes-Deus la maldie!
Reis de terre senz honur ne set bien que faire:
Ne sout li juefnes curunez, li gentilz debonaire;
Quant ne pot ses volentez acumplir pur sun paire,
Pensout en sun curage qu'il li fereit cuntraire:
Turnad s'en tut à celée, passad un gué de Leire,
De si qu'il vint à Saint-Denis ne volt mangier ne beire,
Cuntad al rei de France trestut le suen afaire.
Mandent celui de Flandres, Felipe depuignaire,
E Maheu de Buluine, qu'il venist od sun fraire.
Grant fud cele asemblée, unc ne véistes maire.

JORDAN FANTOSME'S

CHRONICLE

OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE SCOTS

IN 1173 AND 1174.

Hear a true story (may God bless you!)
Of the best sovereign who was ever in life.
A fancy has taken me to make verses, it is right that I should tell you them:
I hold him wise who corrects himself by others.
Gentle king of England with the most bold face,
At the coronation of your son do you not remember
That the homage from the hands of the king of Albany
You caused to be presented to him without having faith forsworn?
Then you said to both: "May God curse those
Who would remove from you love or friendship!
Against all the people of the world, in strength and aid,
With my son remain holding safe my dignity."
Then between you and your son a deadly hatred sprung up,
Whence many a gentle knight has since lost his life,
Many a man has been unhorsed, many a saddle emptied,
Many a good buckler pierced, many a breast-plate broken.
After this coronation and after this investiture
You filched from your son something of his honour,
You took away from him his will, he could not get the mastery of it:
Here grew war without love, the Lord God confound it!
A king of land without honor does not know well what to do:
The young sovereign did not know it, the gentle (and) good;
When he could not accomplish his will on account of his father,
He thought in his mind that he would annoy him:
He went away secretly, passed a ford of Loire,
Till he came to Saint-Denis he would neither eat nor drink,
Told the king of France all his business.
They call the lord of Flanders, Philip the warrior,
And Matthew of Boulogne, that he should come with his brother.
Great was this meeting, you never saw greater.

Li reis Lowis de France si fud à Saint-Denis,
Mar fud la guerre faite envers le rei Henris,
E tint un grant cuncile de tuz ses bons amis;
Del viel rei d'Engleterre esteit issi pensis,
A poi de duel n'esrage li gentil rei Lowis,
Quant li cuens de Flandres en ad drescié sun vis
E dit al rei de France : " Ne seiez si pensis.
Vus avez grant barnage, vailanz e poestis,
Pur faire grant damage desur voz enemis.
En tute vostre terre mar seit vassal remis,
Ki puisse porter armes, u ne seit si antis,
Ne vus face serrement sur le cors saint Denis
Mar fud faite la guerre devers le rei Henris. "
§ Li cuens Tiebaut de France dresçad de sun estage,
E dist al emperere ù fud sun grant barnage :
" Gentil rei de Saint-Denis, el cors me tient la rage.
Jo sui vostre liges hum par fei e par humage,
Bien sui prest de guerreier e de trover hostage;
Quarante jorz vus servirai enz el premier estage,
E ferai al rei Henri, ço crei, itel damage,
Ne serrad mès restoré en trestut son eage;
Ne purrad en nul lieu guarir en plein ne en boscage,
Se il al jofne rei sun fiz ne rende l'eritage,
Le regne d'Engleterre, si faire volt que sage.
Larrez-lui Normendie, se ire vus assuage.
Se rien i ad de mesprisun e dit ai nul ultrage,
U nul le voille demustrer vers mei en sun language,
Veez-mei ci en vostre curt prest de pleier mun gage.
Cil est vostre parjure, si quiert vostre huntage. "
§ Jà sunt à un acord li reis e ses baruns,
E tramettent messages par plusurs regiuns;
Le rei Henri desfient par itels achaisuns,
Mettent les beles terres à granz destructiuns.
El meis d'avril en Paskerez fud l'ost de France sumuns,
E chevalchent ès marches laciez les gumphanuns.
Li reis Henri chevalche cuntre els à espuruns,
E ot en sa cumpaigne dis mile Braibençons
E maint gentil chevalier angevins e gascuns,
Ki frunt à ceus de France ires e cuntençons.
Mult fud grant l'ost de France que ameine Lowis.
Pur destruire le pere se peine mult le fiz,
[Vencu e pris de guere merrad le à Saint-Denis;]
Mès li reis sun pere li ad tut el pramis,
Qu'il verrad maint gumfanun e maint cheval de pris,
Mainte targe dubblé blanc e vermeil e bis,

King Lewis of France was at Saint-Denis,
Wrongly was the war made against king Henry,
And held a great council of all his good friends;
About the old king of England was he so thoughtful
(That) nearly by sorrow went out of his mind gentle king Lewis,
When the count of Flanders had raised his face,
And said to the king of France: "Be not so thoughtful.
You have great baronage, valiant and powerful,
To make great damage upon your enemies.
In all your land it would be wrong that any vassal should remain,
Who could bear arms, or might not be too old
Not to make you oath on the body of saint Denis
That the war was wrongly made against king Henry."
Count Thibault of France arose from his seat,
And said to the emperor where was his great baronage:
"Gentle king of Saint-Denis, rage seizes my body.
I am your liege man by faith and by homage,
I am quite ready to make war and to find a host;
I will serve you forty days in the first expedition,
And I will do to king Henry, I think, such damage
That it will not be repaired in all his life;
He will not escape it anywhere in plain or wood,
If he give not back to the young king his heritage,
The kingdom of England, if he will act wisely.
You will leave him Normandy, if he appeases your wrath.
If there is any thing mistaken and if I have said any too much,
Or any body would prove it against me in his language,
Behold me here in your court ready to fold my gage.
This person is perjured to you, and seeks your shame."
Already are of accord the king and his barons,
And send messengers through many regions;
King Henry they defy for those reasons,
Put the fair lands to great destruction.
In the month of April at Easter was the host of France summoned,
And they ride into the marches with flags tied.
King Henry rides against them with spurs,
And had in his company ten thousand Brabençons
And many a gentle knight Angevin and Gascon,
Who will cause to those of France ire and contention.
Very great was the host of France which Lewis brings.
To destroy the father the son takes much great pains,
[Conquered and taken in war he will lead him to Saint-Denis;]
But the king his father had promised him something else,
That he shall see many a flag and many a horse of price,
Many a shield lined white and red and grey,

Mainte juste faire envers ses enemis,
Ainz qu'il seit de bataille recréuz ne cunquis.
Li sires d'Engleterre ad en sun cuer pesance
Quant sun fiz le guerreie, qu'il nurri ad d'enfance,
E veit que cil de Flandres l'unt mis en errance :
Pramis li unt la terre des Engleis à fiance;
Mielz volsist mort que vie qu'il éust la puissance,
Tant cum il pout d'espée ferir u de lance.
Establist sun barnage par fiere cuntenance;
Vait encuntre Lowis, le riche rei de France,
Cuntre le cunte Phelippun, dunt vus oiez parlance,
E dan Maheu sun frere, chevalier de vaillance.
Mult aida Deu le pere le jor, quant il l'avance,
E mustra de sa guerre bele signifiance;
Que le sucurs de sun fiz, ù plus fud s'esperance,
Fud le jor agraventé senz nule demurance.
Co fud Maheu le puigneur, sur qui vint la lance;
N'aurad mès li reis Henriz pur lui nule dutance.
§ Li cuens de Buluine ad receu mortel plaie,
De si qu'as espuruns à or li sanc vermeilz li raie :
Ne purrad jamès guarir, asez ad qu'il asaie.
Tant est sis freres plus dolent, e plus suvent s'esmaie;
E jure sun serrement, la pretiuse plaie,
Jamès vers le rei Henri n'aurad nule appaie.
Ore chevalche Lowis, si fait le jofne reis,
E Phelippe est mis en grant desrei.
Li cuens Tiebaut de France demeine grant podnei.
Jà saverad li reis Henri asez ù mover sei :
Franceis li muevent guerre, Flameng et Cupei,
Li cuens de Leircestre, si i sunt ses fiz tut trei.
Icil de Tankarvile ne l'aime pas de fei;
Cent chevaliers à armes ameine en sun cunrei,
Ki tuit lui sul manacent de mettre en tel desrei
Ne li larrunt de terre le pris d'un palefrei.
Seignurs, en la meie fei, merveille est mult grant
Pur quei li suen demeine le vunt si demenant,
Le plus honurable e le plus cunquerant
Que fust en nule terre puis le tens Moysant,
Fors sulement li reis Charle, ki poesté fud grant
Par les dudze cumpaignuns Olivier e Rodlant.
§ Si ne fud mès oï en fable ne en geste
Un sul rei de sa valur ne de sa grant poeste.
Purquant lui vunt tuz maneçant, il en jure sa teste
Ne larrad pur riveier ne pur chacier sa beste.
Or chevalche li cuens Phelipe ovoc sa grant cumpaigne,

And many a just made against his enemies,
Before he should be in battle a recreant and conquered.
The lord of England has in his heart a weight
Since his son makes war against him, whom he bred from infancy,
And sees that those of Flanders have led him astray:
They promised him the land of the English for certain;
He would rather have died than lived that he (his son) should
As long as he could strike with sword or lance. [have the power,
He drew up his baronage with brave countenance;
Goes against Lewis, the rich king of France,
Against the count Philip, of whom you hear talk,
And lord Matthew his brother, a knight of valour.
God helped much the father the day, when he advances it,
And shewed a fair sign about his war;
For the helpers of his son, in whom his hope most was,
Were this day routed without any delay.
It was Matthew the warrior, on whom came the lance;
King Henry shall have no more fear of him.
The count of Boulogne has received a mortal wound,
Down to his spurs of gold the red blood runs:
He shall never be healed, much though he try.
The more his brother grieves, and the more he is dismayed
And swears his oath, the precious wound, [himself;
Never with king Henry he will be appeased.
Now rides Lewis, so does the young king,
And Philip is put in great disarray.
The count Thibault of France shows great pride.
Soon king Henry shall know where to move himself:
The French raise war against him, the Flemings and the Cupei,
The count of Leicester, and there are also his three sons.
The lord of Tancarville in truth does not love him;
One hundred knights at arms he brings in his battle,
Who all threaten to put him in such a disarray
They will not leave him of land the worth of a palfrey.
Lords, by my troth, much marvel is there
Why his vassals deal with him so,
(He who was) the most honourable and conquering
That was in any land since the time of Moses,
Except only king Charles, whose power was great
Through the twelve companions Oliver and Roland.
One has never heard in fable or in story
Of one single king of his valour and great power.
Although they all come threatening him, he swears by his head
He will not cease to go by the river side or to hunt his beast.
Now rides the count Philip with his great host,

E guaste Normendie par bois e par champaigne.
N'en oïssiez le rei Henri qu'il une feiz s'en plaigne,
Ne querre nul achaisun que la guerre remaigne.
Mult ad li juesne reis espleitié, qui si bien se baigne;
Encore en ad les mandemenz des baruns de Bretaine.
§ Quant ço oï le pere, greins en fud e irez,
E jure sun serrement, mar fud unques pensez,
E dit à ses chevaliers: " Seignurs, ore m'entendez.
Unques mès en ma vie ne fui si adulez;
El cors me tient la rage, a poi ne sui desvez.
Les baruns de Bretaigne m'unt jà cuntrariez;
A ceus qui me heent à mort se sunt abandunez,
Al rei Lowis de France e à mun fiz ainz nez,
Ki me vunt deseritant de ço dunt sui chasez.
Tolir me volt ma terre e fieus e heritez.
Ne sui pas si envielli, ço sevent gent asez,
Ke deive terre perdre ne pur mes granz heez.
Od la lune serie anuit eschilguaitiez,
Que Flameng ne terrien ne seient enbuschiez.
Les baruns de Bretaine, vus le savez asez,
Tresqu'en fine Busterne sunt en mes poestez;
Mès Raül de Feulgiere est vers mei revelez,
Li cuens Huge de Cestre en est sis afiez:
Ne larrai que ne's veie pur fin or esmerez,
Si trover le poeie dedenz lur fermetez;
E puis que noz enemis sunt si aséurez,
Dunc les fait bon envaïr par granz enemistiez.
Mielz valt engin que guerre sur gent desmesurez,
Ke malveis asaillie, s'il sunt descuragiez."
Respunt sun barnage: " Pleins estes de buntez.
Trestuz voz enemis sunt en mal an entrez.
Vostre est la terre, si la defendez;
A tort vus guerreie li vostre engendrez."
A tant ès-vus ces chevaliers descenduz del paleis;
E vunt saisir ses armes igneus e demaneis,
Vestir haubercs e bruines, lacier ces healmes freis,
Prendre par les enarmes ces escuz vianeis.
Dunc oïssiez Deu aramir li vielz Henri li reis:
" Mar m'aurunt entre-acuntré li traïtre ès chaumeis!"
De la vile sunt issuz chevaliers as cunreis,
Meins de seisante mile e plus de seisante treis;
N'i ad celui qui ne quide valeir un rei waleis.
Ore chevalche le rei Henri od tute sa meidnée,
Devers Dol en Bretaine tient la cheminée.
E dit Willame de Humaz: " Il est en la jornée.

And wastes Normandy by wood and plain.
You would never have heard king Henry once complain of it,
Nor ever seek occasion to stop the war.
Much had the young king done, who bathes himself so well;
Still he has in his command the barons of Britany.
When the father heard it, he was sorry and angry,
And swears his oath that wrongly it was ever thought,
And said to his knights: "Lords, now hear me.
Never in my life was I so sorry.
Rage seizes my body, I am nearly mad.
The barons of Britany have already opposed me;
To those who hate me to death they have abandoned themselves,
To king Lewis of France and to my eldest son,
Who come disinheriting me of what I possess.
He would rob me of my land and fiefs and heritages.
I am not so old, people know that enough,
That I should lose land on account of my great age.
With the still moon watch to-night
In order that neither the Flemings nor the natives of the land be
The barons of Britany, you know it enough, [in ambush.
As far as Finistere are in my power;
But Raoul of Fougeres has against me rebelled,
The earl Hugh of Chester is bound to him:
I will not fail to see them for the cost of fine and pure gold,
If I could find them in their fortresses;
And since our enemies are so confident,
Then it is well to invade them with a great hatred.
Craft is better than war against outlaws,
Than bad assault, if they are discouraged."
His baronage replies: "You are full of goodness.
All your enemies are entered into a bad year.
Yours is the land, so defend it;
Wrongly wars against you your son."
Now behold these knights gone down from the palace;
And go to seize their arms quickly and forthwith,
Put on their hauberks and breast-plates, lace their ornamented
Take by the handles these Vianese shields. [helms,
Then you might hear the old king Henry call God to witness:
"Wrongly will the traitors have met me in the stubble-fields."
From the town are issued knights in array,
Less than sixty thousand and more than sixty three;
There is none of them who does not think himself as good as a
Now rides king Henry with all his host, [Welsh king.
Towards Dol in Britany he holds his way.
And says William of Humet: "This is the day.

Ne tenum plait de demurer : veiz-ci la lur cuntrée.
Ceus del chastel unt jà veu Willame e sa baniere,
E veient que li Braibençon veneient tut ariere.
Veez l'ost de Normendie qui nus mettrunt ariere.
Norman sunt bon cunquerur, n'ad gent de lur maniere:
Par tut trovom en geste que Norman sunt venquere.
Pensez-ent, sire Raül, kar la cumpaigne est fiere.
Traï nus ad le jofne rei qui guerreie sun pere,
Quant il les chemins laissa pur estre sur riviere.
Cument defendre purrium ne vei nule maniere;
Ne recevrunt argent ne or, poi nus valdrad preiere. "
Raül respunt encuntre : " Ci n'ad mestier folie,
Ne gab, ne enveisure, ne nule lecherie;
Mès ki bon cunseil saurad, vienged avant, si l' die.
N'avum poür de perdre ne [membre ne] la vie.
Li viel rei se demeine par mult grant estultie,
[Quant il de Bretaigne demande seignurie.]
Manace nus pur sun aveir e pur sa manantie;
Mès n'en irra pas issi cum sun orguil le guie.
Tel cunseil ore en pernum, senz estrif de atie,
Ke nus ne seium hui huniz, ne la terre malbaillie.
Cest chastel n'est mie fort : ne nus i fium mie;
Issum nus fors encuntre, si lur frum asaillie. "
§ A tant se sunt entre-feruz enz en mi la champaigne
Danz Willame de Humaz e ceus de sa cumpaigne;
N'i ad chevalier de pris qui sa lance n'i fraigne:
Ki juster volt à cumpaignun, tost i trova bargaigne.
Par force furent entassez les baruns de Bretaigne
Dedenz lur meismes fermetez, n'i ad nul ki n'i s'i plaigne.
Par force fud en sun chastel dan Raül de Feulgiere,
Huge li cuens de Cestre se claime las pechiere;
Ne lur pot aver mestier mangunel ne periere.
La guerre qu'il unt faite lur iert vendue chiere,
Kar ore vait un message al rei Henri le pere,
A Roem en Normendie sur morel de riviere;
Si li dit l'aventure de sa meisnie fiere,
Del cunte de Cestre, de Raül de Feulgiere.
Dunc loe Deu le glorius e le barun saint Piere:
" Descunfit sunt mes enemis : allas que jo n'i ere ! "
Apreste sun barnage, en qui il mult se fie;
Devers Dol en Bretaigne ad la veie acuillie;
Mès puis qu'il fud là parvenud od sa chevalerie,
Del fait à sa meidnée joius se glorifie.
Ces qui furent el chastel ne s'esjoïrent mie,
Mult dutent sa venue e criement sa baillie;

Let us not talk of delay: behold their country.
"Those of the castle have already seen William and his banner,
And see that the Brabançons come all in the rear.
See the Norman host who will make us retreat.
Normans are good conquerors, there is nobody like them:
Everywhere we find it in story that Normans are victors.
Think of it, Sir Raoul, for the company is fierce.
The young king who wars against his father has betrayed us,
When he left the ways to be on the river.
I see no means how we can defend (ourselves);
They will receive neither silver nor gold, prayer will nought avail us."
Raoul answers to this: "Folly has no business here,
Nor gab, nor joking, nor any levity;
But whoso knows good counsel, let him come forward, and say it.
We have no fear to lose either life [or limb].
The old king conducts himself with very great folly,
[When he of Britany demands the seigniory.]
Threatens us for his possessions and his lands;
But he shall not go as his pride guides him.
Such a counsel now let us take, without strife of anger,
That we be not to day dishonoured, nor the land ravaged.
This castle is not strong: let us not trust to it;
Let us go out against (them), so we will assail them."
Then they charged each other in the middle of the plain
Lord William of Humet and those of his company.
There is no knight of value who does not break there his lance.
Whoever would just against a companion, soon found there his match.
By force were driven together the barons of Britany
Into their very fortresses, there is none who does not then complain of it.
By force was in his castle lord Raoul of Fougeres,
Hugh the earl of Chester proclaims himself a miserable sinner;
Neither mangonel nor stonebow was able to serve them.
The war which they have made shall be sold them dear,
For now goes a messenger to king Henry the father,
To Rouen in Normandy on a black horse used to rivers;
And told him what had happened to his fierce people,
To the earl of Chester, to Raoul of Fougeres.
Then he praises God the glorious and the baron saint Peter:
"Discomfited are my enemies: alas that I was not there!"
He gets ready his baronage, in which he trusts much;
Towards Dol in Britany he has taken his way;
But when he was come there with his knights,
Joyous he boasts of the fact to his followers.
Those who were in the castle did not rejoice at all,
They much fear his coming and dread (to be under) his power;

N'orent tant de vitaille dunt sustiengent lur vie,
Al rei Henri se sunt renduz, si's tient en sa baillie.
" Seignurs, fait li reis Henris, kar me cunseilliez :
Mis fiz ad tort vers mei, dreiz est que le sachiez;
Kar rente tut à force volt aver de mes fiez :
Raisun ne me semble qu'ele li seit paiez.
De hume de ma vertu ne fud si estroez;
E ço que est à force u pris u purchaciez
Ço n'est dreit ne raisun, ço est suvent jugiez.
Pur guarder ma franchise sui asez laidengiez,
E par iceus de Flandres suvent cuntraliez;
Si n'avum mès busuine d'estre plus damagiez.
Tut pri communalment, seignurs, que vus m'aidiez;
En estur aduré voz forces asaiez,
A tut vostre poeir pur mei vus esforciez :
Unkes ne m'amastes, s'al busuin me failliez.
Le cunte Huge de Cestre ensemble od vus menez.
De Raül de Feulgiere ferai mes volentez;
Larrai le tut quite dedenz ces poestez,
Par itel devise qu'il iert mis afiez.
Si puis vers mei revele par nuls iniquitez,
Ne tendrat en Bretaine ne fieus ne heritez.
Adubez, seignurs, vos cors; à espleit chevalchiez :
Mis fiz est de bataille trestut apparailliez.
La rente qu'il demande, li paium des espiez
E des branz acerins e des darz aguisiez. "
De ceste novele sunt plusurs bauz e liez :
Ço sunt les chevaliers les pruz e les enseigniez;
E li cuens de Cestre est dolenz e irez,
Ne quide en sa vie estre desprisunez.
Espoenté sunt li Franceis de la fiere novele,
Le cuer al plus hardi en tremble e chancele;
Mès icil les cunforte, ki trestuz les chaele.
Irrur ad en sun cuer, li sanc li estencele.
A un cunseil en vait à sa gent plus leale,
En romanz devise un brief, d'un anel l'enseele;
Les messagiers al juefne rei devant lui les apele :
Ço fud li reis Lowis ki charga la novele.
Vunt s'en li message ki les briés enporterent,
Passent la mer salée, les regnes traverserent;
Les forez, les plaignes, les ruistes guez passerez,
Vienent en Escoce e le rei troverent,
De part le jofne rei Henri les escriz presenterent.
Jà s'orrez les paroles ki escrites i erent :
§ " Al rei d'Escoce, Willame, le meillur,

They had not victuals enough to sustain their life,
They have surrendered themselves to king Henry, he holds them in his power.
"Lords, quoth king Henry, now counsel me:
My son is in the wrong towards me, it is meet that you know it;
For rent perforce he will have from my estates:
Reason, I think, there is none why it should be paid to him.
From a man of my virtue he was not thus extracted;
And that which is by force taken or gained
Is nor right nor reasonable, so it is often judged.
To guard my franchise I am enough ill-treated,
And by those of Flanders often annoyed;
So we do not want more to be damaged.
You all together, lords, I pray that you aid me;
In pitched battle your strength essay,
With all your might for me strive:
Never you loved me, if at need you fail me.
Earl Hugh of Chester along with you take.
On Raoul of Fougeres I will execute my will;
I will leave him quite free within his estates,
By this condition that he be my liege.
If afterwards against me he rebels by any iniquity,
He shall hold in Britany neither estates nor heritages.
Dub, lords, your bodies; ride quickly:
My son is quite ready for the battle.
The rent he demands, let us pay it with our swords
And with keen brands and pointed darts."
For this news many are joyous and glad:
They are the knights the valiant and polite;
And the earl of Chester is grieved and wroth,
Nor hopes in his life to be disimprisoned.
Frightened are the French at the fierce tidings,
The heart of the bravest trembles and staggers;
But he comforts them who leads them on.
Ire he has in his heart, his blood boils.
For counsel he goes to his most loyal men,
In romance he dictates a letter, with a ring seals it;
The messengers of the young king before him he calls:
It was king Lewis who gave the message.
Depart the messengers who bear the letters,
They pass the salt sea, the kingdoms traverse;
The forests, the plains, the dangerous fords they pass,
They come to Scotland and the king they find,
On the part of the young king Henry the writings present.
Now shall you hear the words which there were written:
"To the king of Scotland, William, the best,

A qui nostre lignage fud jadis anceisur.
Le rei Henri le juefne vus mande par amur,
Suvenir vus deit de mei ki sui vostre seignur.
Mult me semble merveille, si ai el cuer hisdur,
De si riche rei, de hume de ta valur,
Ki tel force ad de gent e en sei tel vigur,
Ne m'aidez de guerre, se veals, el primur,
A guerreer mun pere, tu e ti cuntur.
Jo te durrai la terre que orent ti anceisur,
Ne n'eus unc en terre de rei si grant honur,
La terre de larine, suz ciel ne sai meillur,
Aurez la seignurie en chastel e en tur;
Karduil vus durrum, ke seiez plus forçur,
Tute Westmarilande senz nul cuntreditur,
Ke vus me seiez aidant à force e à baudur.
Ceus qui tienent ces terres me metez en errur."
Or ad li reis d'Escoce el cuer grant marrement
Quant il del jofne rei entent le mandement,
Qu'il li deit sun humage encuntre tute gent;
Del autre part li mande saluz cum à parent,
Qu'il li durra sa terre qu'à sun honur apent,
Ke tuz les reis d'Escoce tindrent lur vivant;
E al viel rei sun pere si redeit ensement
Humages e servises, ligance veraiement.
N'est dreiz ke pur pramesse face tel hardement
Qu'il destruie la terre le viel rei ascient,
Anceis qu'il ait requis de sun eritement.
S'il le volt cuntredire, dunc face sun talent,
Rende-lui sun humage senz achaisunement;
E quant il li aura rendu, e c'il bien le prent,
Ne li deit en nule curt desdire le cuvent;
Kar voleir de prince tient l'em pur jugement.
Dunc tint li reis Willame sun plenier parlement;
Des sages de sa terre volt aver loement,
Si deit vers lu jofne rei tenir sun serrement.
N'i ad nul qui l' desdie ne ki ço li defent.
Li reis vait cunseillier oue sa barunie,
Dit lur la novele que del rei unt oïe:
Le jofne d'Engleterre, ki sun pere guerrie,
Lad terre li demande; mès il tut dis li nie.
"Mander voil par messages al pere, en Normendie,
Qu'il de mun herité me rende une partie:
Ço est Northumberland, qu'il tient en sa baillie;
E s'il ço ne volt faire e tut le me desdie,
Ne li deit en avant ne fei ne druerie."

To whom our lineage was formerly ancestor.
The king Henry the young sends you by love,
You must remember me who am your lord.
It seems to me very marvellous, and I have fear in the heart,
Of so rich a king, of a man of thy valour,
Who has such strength of people and such vigour in himself,
That you will not help me in war, if you like, at first,
To war against my father, thou and thy counts.
I will give thee the land which thy ancestors had,
Thou never hadst from a king so great an estate in land,
The land beyond Tyne, under the heavens I do not know a better,
You shall have the lordship in castle and in tower;
We will give you Carlisle, that you may be stronger,
All Westmoreland without any contradiction,
That you help me with strength and readiness.
Drive away those who hold these lands."
Now has the king of Scotland in his heart great sorrow
When he hears the command of the young king,
That he owes to him his homage against all people;
On the other hand he sends him greeting as to a relation,
That he will give him his land which belongs to his estate,
Which all the kings of Scotland held in their life-time;
And to the old king his father he owes likewise
Homage and service, allegiance true.
It is not right that for promise he should act so boldly
That he should knowingly destroy the land of the old king,
Before he has claimed his inheritance.
If he means to contradict him, then let him do his pleasure,
Let him render his homage without pretext;
And when he has rendered it to him, and if he takes it well,
Let him in any court deny the covenant;
For will of prince is held as judgment.
Then held king William his plenary parliament;
From the sages of his land he wished to have counsel,
If he should to the young king keep his oath.
There is none to contradict him or to forbid him.
The king goes to consult with his baronage,
Tells them the news which they heard of the king:
The young one of England, who wars against his father,
Asks him for the land; but he still refuses it.
"I will tell by messengers the father, in Normandy,
That he must give me back a part of my inheritance:
That is Northumberland, which he holds in his power;
And if he will not do so and refuses it quite,
He owes him in future neither faith nor friendship."

Respunt le cunte Donekan, e dit cume barun:
" Li vielz reis est rednable, si li faites raisun;
De faire nul ultrage ne querez achaisun.
S'il volt, vus le servirez cume ses liges hum:
Rende-vus voz dreitures senz nule mesprisun,
Puis si l' vendrez succurre à cuinte d'espurun.
Mielz valt bele parole mustrée par raisun
Ke ne fait manace pur demander nul dun;
E ki autrement le fait, si quiert destructiun,
Sa mort e sun damage e sa confusiun."
Mult ad li cuens Donekans parlé sagement;
N'i ad nul ki l' desdie, par le mien escient.
Dunc dit li reis méisme, li barun e la gent:
" Cest cunseil est leiaus, si me vient à talent.
Enveium noz messages od icest mandement,
Si facent lur port cum chevalier vaillant."
Vunt s'en li message, lur chevals espurunent,
Par les granz chemins ferrez lur rednes abandunent.
Li cheval sunt mult bon, qui desuz eus randunent.
Vienent en Normendie, pas lunges ne sujornent;
Trovent le viel rei Henri, sagement l'araisunent,
De part le rei d'Escoce lur lettres puis li dunent.
§ Frere Willame Dolepene parole tut premier,
E dit au rei d'Engleterre: " Jo sui un messagier,
De part le rei d'Escoce vus vieng ci nuntier:
Il est vostre parent, si l' devez mult amer;
Servira vus en cest busuin, ne l' verrez mès targier,
Od mil chevaliers armez, ainz vienge un meis entier,
Od trente mil desarmez (tant les oï numbrer),
Ki frunt à voz enemis merveillus encumbrer.
Jà ne querrad del vostre vaillant à un denier,
Mès que sa dreiture li voilliez otrier:
Ço est Northumberland qu'il quiert tut premier,
Kar nul n'i ad si grant raisun e k'il volsist chalengier.
Ore veez-mei ci en vostre curt, terme avant ne quier,
Ferai derainement par un sul chevalier;
E si ço ne volez faire pur lui desheriter,
Ci vus rent sun humage, ne l' vus quier pas celer."
Quant li reis d'Engleterre entent le mandement
De sun cusin d'Escoce, de sun ententement,
Dit à sun message qu'il ne fera nient;
Ne quiert aver al respuns estrange ne parent:
" Dites au rei d'Escoce que pas ne m'espoent
Pur guerre que jo aie de mun fiz en present,
Ne pur le rei de France, ne pur la sue gent,

Answers earl Duncan, and says as a baron:
"The old king is reasonable, so let him have his right;
Do not seek any opportunity of committing an outrage.
If he likes, you must serve him as his liege-man:
Let him restore you your rights without any subterfuge,
Then you will come to succour him with all speed.
Fair word exhibited by reason is better
Than threatening in asking for any gift;
And whoever does otherwise, seeks destruction,
His own death and his damage and his confusion."
Earl Duncan has spoken very wisely;
There is nobody who contradicts him, to my knowledge.
Then said the king himself, the barons and the people:
"This counsel is loyal, and it pleases me.
Let us send our messengers with this mandate,
And let them do their duty like valiant chevaliers."
The messengers go, their horses they spur,
They slacken their reins on the great paved roads.
The horses are very good, which spring beneath them.
They come to Normandy, they do not stay long;
Find the old king Henry, address him wisely,
From the king of Scotland their letters then they give him.
Friar William Dolepene speaks the first,
And said to the king of England: "I am a messenger,
From the king of Scotland I come to inform you:
He is your relation, therefore you must love him much;
He will serve you in this business, you will not see him delay,
With a thousand knights armed, before an entire month elapses,
With thirty thousand unarmed (so I have heard them reckoned),
Who will give your enemies wonderful trouble.
He will not ask the value of a penny from you,
So that you will grant him his rights:
That is Northumberland which he requires above all,
For nobody has such great reason to challenge it.
Now you see me here in your court, I do not require any future [time,
I will leave it to be decided by a single knight;
And if you will not do it, in order to disinherit him,
Here I return you his homage, I do not seek to conceal it from [you."
When the king of England hears the message
Of his cousin of Scotland, of his intention,
He says to his messenger that he will do nothing;
He does not require, on answering, either stranger or relation:
"Tell the king of Scotland that I am not afraid
Of any war I may have with my son at present,
Neither of the king of France, nor of his people,

Ne le cuens de Flandres ki m'envaïst suvent.
Jo's ferai de lur guerre curesçus e dolent,
E à lui frai cuntraire, si Deu le me cunsent;
Mès dites-mei sun frere, David, le mien parent,
Qu'il vienge pur mei aidier od tant cum il ad de gent:
Tant li durrai de terre e tant de chasement,
Tutes ses demandes ferai à sun talent."
— "Sire, fait li messagier, jo l' vus ai en cuvent;
Mès le cungié nus dunez d'aler salvement."
§ A tant sunt li message parti de Normendie,
Troevent bon passage, n'i demurent mie,
Traversent Engleterre, vienent en Albanie.
Li messagier sunt sage, n'unt cure de folie,
Ne troevent qui lur mesface ne qui lul mal lur die
Dès la mer de Dovre de si qu'en Orkenie.
Jà dirrunt tel parole de guerre par atie
Dunt cil plurrunt encore qui rien n'en unt oïe:
§ "Sire rei d'Escoce, Deu saut tun barnage,
Tun cors e tun curage e tun grant vasselage!
Del rei d'Engleterre resui venu message:
Ore oiez sun mandement, ne l' tenez à folage:
Mult s'esmerveille de vus, k'el cors vus tient la rage;
Il vus teneit à sages hum, ne mie d'enfantil age,
Celui qu'il plus amot senz mustrer nul damage.
Ne l' devriez requerre de si fait ultrage:
Demandez-lui sa terre pur vostre heritage,
Cum il fust enprisunez cum oisel dedenz cage;
Il n'est fuitis de terre ne devenuz salvage,
Ainz est rei d'Engleterre en plein e en boscage.
Ne vus durra pur sun busuin en cest premier estage
Acreissement de terre, ço est en sun language;
Ainz verra se li ferrez amur e cusinage,
Cument vus vus cuntendrez, cum fol u cume sage."
Dunc oïssiez ces chevaliers, la gent juefne e salvage,
Jurer riche serrement e afichier curage:
"Si vus cel rei ne guerreiez ki par tel vus hansage,
Ne devez tenir terre ne nul seignurage;
Ain devez al fiz Mahalt servir en servage."
§ Ore ot li reis d'Escoce sa gent qui l' cuntrarie;
N'unt pas Engelram l'evesque, le mielz de sa clergie,
Ne le cunte Waldef ne se purfiche mie
A cunseillier la guerre (bien veit que ço est folie),
Si que li reis méismes suvent le cuntralie
Par l'enticement de ces q'aiment la folie;
E jure sun serrement, Deu le fiz Marie:

Nor the count of Flanders who assails me often.
I will make them enraged and sorry for their war,
And I will give him annoyance, if God allows it me;
But tell his brother, David, my relation,
To come and help me with as many people as he has:
I will give him as much land and as many estates
As to execute all his demands to his satisfaction."
—"Sire, quoth the messenger, I make a covenant with you for it;
But give us leave to go in safety."
Then the messengers set out from Normandy,
Find a good passage, do not delay there,
Traverse England, come to Albany.
The messengers are wise, they do not care about amusement,
Meet with nobody who does them harm or says any thing bad
From the sea of Dover as far as Orkney.
Soon they will tell such a word of war with rage
For which they also shall weep who have not heard it:
"Sire king of Scotland, God save thy baronage,
Thy body and thy courage and thy great valour!
From the king of England I return as a messenger:
Now hear his mandate, do not make light of it:
He marvels much at you, that you have madness in your body;
He considered you a wise man, not of a childish age,
As one whom he loved best, without showing any (intention of
You should not have required from him such an ou-[doing) injury.
You ask him for his land as your inheritance, [trageous deed:
As if he were imprisoned as a bird in a cage.
He is neither a fugitive from the land nor become a savage,
But is king of England in the plains and the woods.
He will not give you for his need in this first stage
Increase of land, this is in his language;
But will see whether you will show him love and relationship,
How you will behave, as foolish or wise."
Then you might hear those knights, the people young and wild,
Swear a strong oath and exhibit courage:
"If you do not war against this king who beards you so,
You must hold neither land nor any lordship;
But must serve the son of Matilda in bondage."
Now hears the king of Scotland that his people oppose him;
He had not Engelram the bishop, the best of his clergy,
Nor earl Waltheof does not venture
To counsel war (he well sees that it is folly),
So that the king himself often opposes him
By the suggestion of those who love folly;
And swears his oath, God the son of Mary:

" Ne remeindra la guerre pur vostre cuardie.
Asez avez en tresor aver e manantie:
Defendez vostre terre e querez-nus aïe;
E, si faire ne l' volez, en tute vostre vie
N'aurez de mun cunquest vaillant à un alie. "
Co li respunt le cunte: " Refrenez cel talent:
Jo sui vostre liges huem, si furent mi parent.
Ne savum puint de guerre: pur ço si m'espoent.
A cumencier barate cuvient acuintement:
Ne vus devez pas fier en fol enticement,
Ne creire la folie de alienes genz.
Se bien vus puet avenir, il guaignerunt suvent;
Ne reperdrunt de guaires, se chiet vus malement.
Li vilain dit en reprovier, si dit mult veirement:
" Tel nuist ki ne puet aidier, quant vient al jugement. "
Ne quidez que jo l' die pur nul esmaiement,
Ne que vus faille de guerre tant cume sui vivant. "
§ Quant cel cunseil fud duné, li reis ne l' crut mie:
Ne remaindra la guere pur perdre Abanie;
Mès il voldrad ultre mer enveier un espie
Pur veeir le cuntienement le pere en Normendie;
E puis avant en Flandres, al fiz, en qui il se fie,
Ses briés e ses messages, ki haltement li die:
" Cume li reis sun pere par dit me cuntralie
E par itel manace cum vus avez oïe;
E, s'il volt tenir cuvenant par fiance plevie,
Ne larrai ne li face prueçainement aïe.
Si nus enveit de Flandres ses Flamens od navie,
Par cent e par cinquante de cele gent hardie:
Jo lur livrai la veie la gent qui nus guerrie.
Cil assaudrunt les chastels par force d'establie.
Willame de Saint-Michiel ferad icest message,
E Robert de Husevile; kar ambesdous sunt sage:
Suvent sunt en busuine prové de vasselage,
Bien sevent en riche curt parler de maint language. "
A cest message faire s'en vunt ces messagiers;
Li reis le volt e grée, si l' funt mult volentiers.
A Berewic-sur-Tine troevent les noteniers
Ki 's amerrunt en Flandres les sages messagiers.
Jà sunt entrez en barges, e vunt en halte mer,
E traient sur lur sigles, si se funt desarmer;
N'unt cure d'Engleterre lunges acosteer:
Il sunt lur mortel enemi, qu'il soleient amer.
Si cum ces chevaliers unt trové lur seignur
Oue le rei de France, Lowis l'empereur,

The war will not the less take place because of your cowardice.
You have enough in treasure goods and property:
Defend your land and seek aid for us;
And, if you will not do so, in all your life
You shall not have of my land the value of a clove of garlick."
Thus answers him the earl: "Restrain this inclination:
I am your liege-man, so were my relations.
We know nothing of war: therefore I fear.
To begin strife there must be acquaintance:
You should not trust to foolish enticement,
Nor put faith in the folly of foreign people.
If good can come to you, they will often gain;
They will not lose much, if it turns out unfortunately for you.
The peasant says in proverb, and says very truly:
"He injures who cannot aid, when the trial comes on."
Do not imagine that I say it through any fear,
Nor that I shall fail you in war as long as I am living."
When this counsel was given, the king did not heed it:
The war will still take place, though Albany were lost;
But he wishes to send beyond the sea a spy
To see the situation of the father in Normandy;
And then afterwards to Flanders, to the son, in whom he trusts,
His letters and messages, to tell him loudly:
"How the king his father by word opposes me
And by such a menace as you have heard;
And, if he will keep covenant by pledged faith,
I will not fail to give him aid speedily.
So let him send us from Flanders his Flemings with navy,
By hundreds and by fifties of those bold people:
I will give them the road to the people who war against us.
They will attack the castles by regular siege.
"William de Saint-Michel will deliver this message,
And Robert de Husevile; for both are wise:
They have often given proof of ability in need,
They well know in rich court to speak many a language."
To do this message depart these messengers;
The king desires it and it is his pleasure, so they do it most willingly.
At Berwick-on-Tyne they find the boatmen,
Who will take to Flanders the wise messengers.
Already they have entered barges, and go on the high sea,
And hoist up their sails, and cause the anchor to be weighed;
They do not care to coast along England:
They are their mortal enemies, whom they used to love.
When these knights have found their lord
With the king of France, Lewis the emperor,

Dient lur messages suef e senz irrur,
Si que bien l'entendent de France li cuntur;
E li cuens Phelipe est mis en tel errur,
Parole devant les autres le noble guerréur.
Ore dit li cuens Philipe une raisun menbré,
Veant la curt de France; mult fud bien escutée:
" Tenez al rei d'Escoce la fiance afiée;
Qu'il vus aït de guerre, hastif, senz demurée;
Destruice voz enemis e guaste lur cuntrée,
Par fu e par enbrasement tute seit alumée;
Ne lur laist defors, n'en forest ne en prée,
Dunt il puissent al matin aveir une disnée;
Puis asiece lur chastels de sa gent aünée:
N'aurunt succurs ne aïe dedenz tredze luées.
Issi deit l'en cumencier guerre, ço m'est vis:
Primes guaster la terre e puis ses enemis.
Nus li aiderum de Flandres ainz vienge quinze dis,
Par quei ces d'Engleterre serrunt nun poestis. "
§ Si cum li quens Philipe ad fait sa randunée,
Li reis Lowis de France le volt e si l'agrée;
E dit as noz messages: " Jà s'iert enseelée
La chartre ke vus porterez enz en vostre cuntrée.
Dites al rei d'Escoce, senz nule demurée,
La terre est tute sue qu'il ad demandée. "
Quant ces messages sunt venuz e arivez à terre,
Dunc furent bien aséur de cumencier la guerre.
Asez purriez oïr, mar alissiez luinz querre:
" Alum prendre le chastel de Werc en Engleterre. "
§ Ne fud unkes engendré huem de tel memoire,
Salemun le sage, David qui fist l'estoire,
Ke mult ne se glorifiast d'aver si grant victoire
Cum cil lur prameteient; mès tut fud veine gloire.
Ore ad li reis d'Escoce ses oz apparailliez
A Keledenelee, là furent asemblez.
Les greidles furent ki dunc erent amez,
Ki puis les unt de terre par force degetez.
§ De Ros e de Muraive unt grant ost banie.
Certes, le cunte Colbein ne s'i ublia mie.
Seignurs, le cunte d'Anegus i vint od tel aïe,
Plus de treis mil Escoz aveit en sa baillie.
Tant i out de nue gent, ne sai que plus vous die,
Ne vint tel ost d'Escoce puis le tens Helye.
Dunc vint li reis Willame à Werc en Engleterre,
Un chastel en la marche ki puis li fist grant guerre,
Travail e peine e suvent grant cuntraire;

They deliver their messages gently and without anger,
So that the counts of France hear it well;
And count Philip is put in such emotion,
The noble warrior speaks before the others.
Now speaks count Philip a sensible speech,
Before the court of France; it was very well heard:
"Keep to the king of Scotland the pledged faith;
That he may aid you in war, hastily, without delay;
Destroy your enemies and waste their country,
That by fire and conflagration all may be kindled;
That he may leave them nothing without, either in forest or in [meadow,
Of which they may in the morning have a dinner;
Then let him besiege their castles with his assembled people:
They shall have no succour nor aid within thirteen leagues.
"Thus war should be begun, such is my opinion:
First to destroy the land and then one's enemy.
We will help him from Flanders ere fifteen days come,
By which those of England will be disabled."
As soon as count Philip finished his tilt,
King Lewis of France wills it and agrees to it;
And says to our messengers: « Soon shall be sealed
The charter that you will take to your country.
Tell the king of Scotland, without any delay,
The land is all his own which he has demanded."
When these messengers had come and reached the land,
Then were they quite certain of beginning the war.
Enough you might hear without going far:
"Let us go to take the castle of Wark in England."
Never was born a man so memorable,
Neither Salomon the wise, nor David who wrote the history,
Who did not glory in having such a great victory
As these promised him; but all was vain glory.
Now has the king of Scotland his host prepared
At Caldenlè, there they were assembled.
The trumpets were what then were loved,
Which afterwards drove them from the land by force.
From Ross and from Moray they have a great host gathered.
Certainly, earl Colbein did not forget himself there.
Lords, the earl of Angus came there with such aid,
More than three thousand Scots he had in his command.
There were so many naked people, I know not what more to tell you,
There came not such a host from Scotland since the time of Elias.
Then came king William to Wark in England,
A castle in the marches which afterwards made him great war,
Labour and trouble and often great annoyance;

Enquist del cunestable cument il le volt faire,
Del tenir u del laissier, le quel li fust viaire.
Rogier d'Estutevile en fud le cunestable,
Ki unkes n'ama traïsun ne servir al diable;
E vit que li suen esforz de rien ne fud aidable
Encuntre l'ost d'Escoce, qui mult les assaie,
Ne de rendre sun chastel ne serrad nule appaie:
Ne fud pas merveile si dan Rogier s'esmaie.
Dunc prie Deu le glorius e sa mere veraie:
" Tel cunseil me dunez que jo m'onur aie,
Kar li Escot me guerreient senz nule manaie. "
Rogier d'Estutevile parole à ses privez,
E dit: " Baruns chevaliers, dites que vus loez.
Veez l'ost le rei d'Escoce qui nus ad desfiez;
E nus eimes escharniz dedenz ces fermetez,
N'aurum sucurs n'aïe de nul de noz judnez. "
[D]unc regrette sun seignur, Henri le rei vaillant;
Les lermes lung sa face li vunt jus devalant:
" Mar fud vostre force, quant ore ies nun poant!
Ne poez vostre barun aidier ne tant ne quant.
Irai al rei d'Escoce sad triewe demandant,
Quarante jorz de terme, que seie mer passant.
Si dunc ne me puis succurre par raisun en avant,
Perdu avez senz faille tute Northumberland. "
§ Rogier d'Estutevile en vile parler al rei,
Sages par humilité, senz faire nul desrei;
Tuz ceus de sa meisnée se tindrent en cunrei,
E dit en sun language: " Sire, entendez à mei.
Ne me faites deshonur, refrenez vostre ire.
Mult aim vostre avancement, mès que li miens n'enpire.
Quarante jorz de terme, ke seie mer passant, sire,
Ke jo enveie ultre mer mes briés dedenz cire;
U jo meismes i irrai, lequel voldrai eslire,
E dirrai à mun seignur mar deit chanter ne rire:
Si Jesus n'en prent cunrei, la gent de sun empire
Ne's verra, dès qu'il serrunt tuz livrez à martire. "
Dunc vit li reis Willame Rogier en grant tristur,
Tute Northumberlant travaillie à dolur;
N'i ad ki cuntrestoise ne lui ne sa vigur:
Bien ad graanté le terme al quarantime jor.
Ore dit Jordan Fantosme que Deus les avua:
Tuz ceus de Northumberlant ki furent de delà,
Ne fust icele triewe ke Rogier demanda,
Chaciez fussent de terre par ces d'Albania;
Mès le sage chevalier ki sun seignur ama

He inquired from the constable what he meant to do,
Either to hold or give up, which he thought proper.
Roger d'Estutevile was its constable,
Who never liked treason nor to serve the devil;
And saw that his power was of no avail
Against the host of Scotland, which besieges them strongly,
Neither to surrender his castle he should have any terms:
It was no marvel if lord Roger were dismayed.
Then he prays to God the glorious and his mother true:
"Such counsel give me that I may preserve my honour,
For the Scots war against me without any respite."
Roger d'Estutevile speaks to his intimates,
And says: "Barons knights, say what you think.
See the host of the king of Scotland who has defied us;
And we shall be scorned within these holds,
We shall have no succour nor help from any of our neighbours."
Then he regrets his lord, Henry the valiant king;
The tears along his face go falling down:
"Evil was your strength, since now you are powerless!
You cannot aid your baron in any way whatever.
I will go to the king of Scotland, asking for a truce,
Forty days space, that I may pass the sea.
If then I cannot succour myself afterwards by right,
You have lost without fail all Northumberland."
Roger d'Estutevile came to speak to the king,
Wise with humility, (and) without doing any thing wrong;
All those of his suite kept themselves in ranks,
And says in his language: "Sire, listen to me.
"Do not give me shame, refrain your ire.
Much do I love your welfare, but let not mine suffer.
Forty days space, that I may pass the sea, [give me,] sire,
That I may send beyond sea my letters under wax;
Or I myself will go there, whichever I please to chose,
And will say to my lord wrongly must he sing or laugh:
If Jesus does not take care of the people of his empire,
He will not see them, for they will be all delivered to martyrdom."
Then saw king William Roger in great sorrow,
All Northumberland harassed with woe;
There is none to oppose him or his vigour:
Well did he grant the space till the fortieth day.
Now says Jordan Fantosme that God protected them:
All those of Northumberland who were there,
Were it not for this truce which Roger asked,
Would have been driven from the land by those of Albany;
But the wise knight who loved his lord

Les munz e les valées redutent sa venue.
La sue grant folie mar fud unkes véue,
As baruns de la terre serrad mult chier vendue :
Il lur ferad ainz departir tele descuvenue,
Ne lur larrad dehors chastel un buef à lur charue.
Mès li barun sunt naturel vers lur seignurage,
Ne tienent greinur plait d'aveir que de beste salvage ;
Mielz vuelent murir à honur que suffrir huntage,
Guerpir lur naturel seignur pur perdre lur guaignage.
Sufferunt e atendrunt : de ço si funt que sage ;
Mès lur chastels ne rendrunt pur aver grant damage.
§ Bien veit li reis d'Escoce que jà n'i mettra fin
Del Noef-Chastel-sur-Tine cunquerre senz engin ;
E dient si cunseillier : " Mar aiez le chief enclin.
Ainz que sucurs lur vienge, tuit en serrunt frarin ;
Mès faites l'ost sumundre, ke prest seit le matin ;
Alez Karduil cunquerre, dunt nus sumes devin.
Jà n'aura Robert de Vaus si bon sabelin,
Ne mangié la viende, ne béu de tel vin,
Quant verra tanz beaus escuz, tanz healmes peitevins,
Ne volsist en l'eschekier devenir un aufin. "
Ço dit li reis Willame : " Dunc seie-jo maldit,
Escumengié de prestre, huniz e descunfit,
Si jo le chastel Odinel duins terme ne respit !
Ainz li ferai tut perdre sa joie e sun delit.
Li cuens Henri mun pere le cherid e nurrit ;
Mès à la parestrusse dirrad que mar me vit,
Kar cil en qui il se fie li valdrad mult petit.
De la sue aïe li faz un escundit. "
Là fist li reis d'Escoce tendre ses paveilluns,
Ses trefs e ses acubes, ses cuntes, ses baruns ;
E dit à sun barnage : " Seignurs, ke là ferums ?
Tant cum esteusse Prudhume, jamès pès n'aurums. "
Ço dient li Flameng : " Nus l'agraventerums,
Ù mar nus durrez soldeies ne livreisuns. "
E dit l'autre partie : " Jamès n'en parlerums,
De feire nul enprise ne li cunsentirums ;
Mès voist avant cunquerre, e nus li aiderums.
Northumberland est nostre, quant nus repairerums. "
§ — " Sire rei d'Escoce, dient si cunseillier,
De tutes voz dreitures est Karduil le dangier ;
E puis que le jofne rei vus volt del tut duner,
Alez le chief cunquerre, bien le volum loer ;
E si Robert de Vaus ne volt le chief duner,
De la grant tur antive ferez le devaler.

The hills and the valleys dread his coming.
A greater folly than his never was seen,
To the barons of the land it will be very dearly sold:
He will give them, before his departure, such a discomfiture
He will not leave them outside the castle an ox to their plough.
But the barons are devoted to their lord,
They care as little for their property as for a wild beast;
They prefer dying with honor rather than suffer shame
(And) abandon their natural lord, though they lose their lands.
They will endure and wait: they do so wisely;
But they will not surrender their castles though they suffered great damage.
Well sees the king of Scotland that he will never succeed
In conquering Newcastle-on-Tyne without stratagem;
And say his counsellors: "Wrongly do you hang your head.
Before succour comes to them, they will be in despair;
But warn the host to be ready in the morning;
Go conquer Carlisle, of which we spoke.
Robert de Vaus will never have such a good sable,
Nor eat meat, nor drink such wine,
When he sees so many fine shields, so many Poitevin helmets,
But he will wish to be a bishop on the chess-board."
Thus said king William: "Then may I be cursed,
Excommunicated by priest, shamed and discomfited,
If to the castle of Odinel I give any terms or respite!
But I will put an end to his joy and his delight.
Count Henry my father loved and reared him;
But at length he will say 't was a misfortune to see me,
For he in whom he trusts will be of a very little use to him.
He makes him a refusal of his assistance."
There the king of Scotland made his earls, his barons,
Pitch his pavilions, his tents and his marquees;
And said to his baronage: "Lords, what shall we do there?
As long as Prudhoe stands, we will never have peace."
Thus say the Flemings: "We will destroy it,
Or wrongly you will give us pay and provisions."
And said the other party: "Never will we speak of it,
We will never consent to his making any entreprise;
But let him go forward to conquer, and we will help him.
Northumberland is ours, when we come back."
— "Sire king of Scotland, say his counsellors,
Of all your rights Carlisle is the most difficult (to secure);
And since the young king is willing to give you all,
Go and conquer the chief, we advise you thus;
And if Robert de Vaus will not give the chief,
From the great high tower you must have him thrown.

Faites-i mettre siege, e puis après jurer
Vostre grant ost banie n'en partira premier
Desque vus aiez la cité véu alumer,
Le mestre-mur desfaire à voz picois d'acier,
A unes hautes furches lui-méismes encroer.
Dunc verrez Robert de Vaus estreitement aler;
Par le mien escient, ne l' troverez tant fier
Qu'il vus peussed lungement par force cuntrester. "
E dit li reis Willame: " Si Deu nus volt aidier,
Cest conseil est metable, si l' feimes achiever. "
La nuit fait ses guaites sun ost eschielguaitier,
Desqu'al demein al aube quant jor apparut cler,
Qu'il fist suner ses greidles pur faire l'ost aler;
E destendent acubes serjant e escuier.
Vait s'en li reis Willame uoc son grant barnage;
Mès ainceis qu'il repairent en lur terre salvage,
Des Engleis d'Engleterre aurunt fait tel damage,
Mil i larrunt les testes par lur meismes hostage,
Kar felun sunt en guerre e mult de fol curage:
A ceus est bien apparissant trovez en lur veage.
Icil qui sunt acunséuz en plein u en boscage
Ne cunterunt mès novele à nul de lur lignage.
Bien sout li reis d'Escoce ses enemis guerreier
E suvent en guerre grever e damagier;
Mès trop fud acustumé de cunseilz noveler.
La gent estrange chierisseit, amot e teneit chier;
La sue gent demeine ne volt unkes amer,
Ki lui e sun reaume deveient cunseillier.
Bien i parut en haste, jà m'en orrez parler,
Cum avint de sa guerre par malveis cunseillier.
Li reis fait sa gent apparaillier;
A ceus dedenz ferad assaut plenier.
Grant fud la noise al estur cumencier,
Li fer tentissent, e cruissent li acier,
Ne hauberc ne healmes guaires n'i remist entier.
Le jor i furent cil dedenz chevalier,
Od lur espées funt maint escu estroer,
Asez en laissent lez le mur estraier
Ki n'orent pas leisir pur relever.
Dès ore cuvient à ceus dedenz aidier,
L'estur suffrir e les escuz damagier,
Lur barbecan tenir e chalengier:
Jà nul cuart ne lur aureit mestier.
§ A la porte out grant envaïssement,
Des ambesdous parz out grant aïrement.

Lay siege to it, and then make your great assembled host
To swear not to stir from it
Till you have seen the city on fire,
The master-wall pulled down with your steel-pick-axes,
Himself fastened to a high gallows.
Then you will see Robert de Vaus slinking away;
As far as I know, you will not find him so proud
That he will be able to resist you long by force,"
And said king William: "If God will aid us,
This counsel is advisable, so let us execute it."
In the night he makes his watchmen watch his host,
Till the following morning at dawn when the day appeared clear,
When he made his trumpets sound to put the host in motion;
And the serjeants and esquires take down the tents.
King William goes with his great baronage;
But before they return to their wild country,
They will have made such damage among the English of England
That a thousand will leave their heads there for their own hostage,
For they are fierce in war and of very rash courage:
This is quite evident to those they find in their way.
Those who are caught in plain or in wood
Will never tell stories to any of their lineage.
Well knew the king of Scotland to make war upon his enemies,
And often in war to grieve and injure (them);
But he was too much accustomed to listen to new advice.
He cherished, loved and held foreigners dear;
His own people he would never love,
Who should advise him and his kingdom.
This appeared soon, presently you shall hear me speak of it,
What happened of his war through evil counsellors.
The king makes his people get ready;
To those within he will give a complete assault.
Great was the noise on beginning the fight,
The swords clash, and the steel crashes,
Scarcely hauberk or helmet remained whole.
That day those within were knights,
With their swords they make many a shield shattered,
They leave many of them stretched near the wall
Who had no leisure to get up.
Henceforth those within must help (themselves),
Front the battle and damage the shields,
Hold and contend for their barbacan:
No coward could be useful to them.
At the gate there was a great attack,
On both sides great was the fury.

Là véissiez tanz chevaliers sanglant,
Tant bon vassal de mal talent;
Li fer tentissent e vunt comunalment.
Robert de Vaus se defendeit forment;
Le fiz Odart ne li failli nient,
Pur sun seignur enprist grant hardement
De sei tenir encuntre tant de gent:
Quarante mile, si Fantosme ne ment.
N'i ad celui ne l' hace mortelment.
A, Deu! quel duel del gentil rei Guillame!
Del rei Henri aura si mortel blasme;
Co peise mei, par le barun saint Jacme!
Kar plus franc ne guverna unc realme.
Fantosme dit e bien le nus afie,
Ne se pensast à nul jor de sa vie
De guerreier Henri de Normendie,
Le fiz Mahaut, ki ad la char hardie;
Mès par cunseil e par malveis envie
Puet l'um un sage hume mettre en grant folie.
Mès puis qu'il out la chose si enprise,
Ne l' pot laissier si par grant cuardise.
Pais à tenir cumande à saint Iglise,
Des enfreignurs en fait cruel justise.
Mès ne li valt cel un sul alie:
La pute gent, ke Damne-Deu maldie!
Les [Gualeis], ki d'aveir unt envie,
E li Escot, qui sunt en Albanie,
Ne portent fei à Deu le fiz Marie;
Brisent mustiers e funt grant roberie.
Mult se sunt mis li barun en grant peine,
Ki lur honurs teneient del rei demeine;
Pur lur seignur unt grant dolur certeine:
Ses enemis lur unt dunez estreine.
Si Dieu n'en penst e Marie Magdaleine,
Grant guerre aurunt ki mult lur iert griffaine.
La terre qui ert de tanz biens si pleine,
De tuz aveirs est ore fade e veine;
N'i ad beivre fors ewe de funteine
U sout aveir cerveise en la semeine.
E tut est fait par le rei d'Aubanie,
Par sun cunseil e par sa grant folie;
Mès ore li creist grant perte senz faillie,
N'en partira senz aver vilanie.
Cil del chastel aurunt prueçain aïe:
Si vait de gent qui en Damne-Deu se fie.

Then you might see so many bloody knights,
So many good vassals in bad humour;
The swords clash and intermingle.
Robert de Vaus defended himself bravely;
The son of Odard was not behind hand,
For his lord he behaved most daringly
In standing against so many people:
Forty thousand, if Fantosme does not lie.
There is none who does not hate him mortally.
Oh! God! what sorrow for gentle king William!
From king Henry he will have such mortal blame;
This grieves me, by the baron saint James!
For a nobler man never governed a realm.
Fantosme says and assures to us well
That he would not think any day of his life
To fight Henry of Normandy,
The son of Matilda who has the hardy countenance;
But by counsel and by evil envy
One may make a wise man commit a great folly.
But since he undertook the thing thus,
He could not leave it so through great cowardice.
He orders peace to be kept with the holy Church,
On those who infringe it he executes cruel justice;
But that is not worth to him a single clove of garlick:
The rascally people, whom may the Lord God curse!
The [Welsh], who wish for booty,
And the Scots, who are in Albany,
Have no faith in God the son of Mary;
They break open the churches and commit great robberies.
The barons put themselves to great trouble
Who held their estates from the sovereign king;
For their lord they have great sorrow certainly:
His enemies have given them a handsell.
If God and Mary Magdalen do not think of it,
Great war they will have which will be very severe to them.
The land which was so full of such prosperity
Is now spoiled and destitute of all riches;
There is no drink but spring water
Where they used to have beer in the week.
And all is done by the king of Albany,
By his counsel and by his great folly;
But now there arises to him great loss infallibly,
He will not depart without having shame.
Those of the castle will have speedy aid:
So fares it with people who in the Lord God trust.

Oez, seignurs, qu'avient de trop ultrage,
Ke lur avint d'Escoce la salvage.
Bel fud lu tens senz nul malveis orage;
Li reis d'Escoce esteit de fier curage,
Chevalier bon e de grant vasselage.
De devant lui vint errant un message,
Chanuine fud, si saveit le language;
Hastivement li cunta sun damage.
Li reis esteit dedenz sun paveillun;
Li eschielguaite delez e envirun,
Ses chamberlens e si privé druiun
Là ù li mès lur dist itel sermun
Dunt puis furent méuz en tençun.
§ Li mès lur ad trestut cunté
Cum aveit véu la gent armé,
Des chevaliers la grant fierté
Ki l'assaudrunt ainz le soleil levé.
" Cil de Luci, le sage, le sené,
Ainz mie-nuit serrad as noz justé.
Guardez-vus-ent, pur Deu de majesté,
Ke ne seiez huni ne vergundé.
Tut le mielz de vostre parenté
S'en vient od lui, chascun li ad juré.
Creez cunseil, le mielz vus est duné;
A Rokesburc alez à séurté.
Si vus iestes plus lunges aresté,
Male chançun serrad de vus chanté.
Unques ne fist Tiebaut de Balesguë
Si mal eschec à ceus de France né
Cum vus ferrunt li Surreis aduré,
Si vus e els estes entre-asemblé. "
Li reis l'entent, forment s'en est iré,
Senz demurer saint Andreu ad juré:
" Tuz aséur i sumes aresté;
Ne lur serrad bataille deveé.
Bien deit prudhume cunquerre s'erité.
Mes ancestres d'Escoce le regné
Icest honur tindrent en quieté.
Par cel Seignur que l'um requiert à pié!
E jo l' tendrai del rei mun avué,
Le fiz al pere ki mes dreiz m'ad duné;
En mun vivant n'en perderai plein pié. "
Jà s'éust sun ost bien amonesté
Quant un cunseil li est des suens duné:
Cum il volsist mès estre honuré,

Hear, lords, what happens from too great daring,
What happened to them from savage Scotland.
Fine was the weather without any bad storm;
The king of Scotland was of bold courage,
Good knight and of great valour.
Before him came wandering a messenger,
A canon was he, and knew the language;
Hastily he related to him his complaint.
The king was in his pavilion;
The warders near and around,
His chamberlains and his private friends
There where the messenger delivered to them such a speech
By which they were afterwards excited to contention.
The messenger told them the whole,
How he had seen the armed people,
The great pride of the chevaliers
Who would assault him before sun rise.
"He of Lucy, the wise, the sensible,
Before midnight will be joined with our men.
Take care, for God of majesty,
That you are not disgraced nor shamed.
All the best of your relations
Come with him, every one has sworn to him.
Trust to advice, the best is given to you.
To Roxburgh go in safety.
If you delay longer,
A bad song will be sung of you.
Never did Thibault de Balesgué give
So bad a check to the natives of France
As those of Surrey will give you,
If you and they encounter each other."
The king hears him, and is very angry,
Without delay swore by saint Andrew:
"We stop here quite secure;
Battle will not be refused them.
A brave man must certainly conquer his inheritance.
My ancestors of the kingdom of Scotland
Held that estate in quietness.
By this Lord whom they implore on foot!
And I will hold it from the king my patron,
The son of the father who has given me my rights;
As long as I live I will not lose a foot of it."
He would have already well addressed his host,
When a counsel is given him by his men:
As he wished to be still honored,

Laissast le siege e alast s'en de gré.
Si fist-il veir, n'i fud plus demuré,
De nul des suens n'i ot redne tiré.
A Rokesburc, ù il ainz unt esté,
S'en vint de nuiz cum cil qui fud basté;
N'i out un sul de sun ost aresté
Ne s'en alast par mult grant lascheté,
Senz ço que lur fust nul assaut duné
Ne escrié ne de rien damagié.
Robert de Vaus guaignad en ceste chace,
De ces fuiz grant aveir en purchace;
Mès, ki k'en peist u nul mal gré li sace,
De lur aveir esforcerad sa place.
Croche le pié e estent sa pigace,
Mercie Deu e prie e que pas ne l' hace.
§ Ore chevalche aséur le grant ost d'Engleterre.
Li sires Richart de Luci, nul meillur n'estuet querre,
Bien aidet à maintenir sun seignur sa guerre,
E si set en busuine triewes e pais requerre
Là ù il veit la force e li estuet requerre.
Chevalche en la terre destruite e guastée :
Ço est Northumberland qui jà iert renumée.
De si qu'as porz d'Espaine n'aveit itel cuntrée
Ne plus large viandier ne gent plus honurée;
Ore est en grant famine, devient anientée,
Si del rei d'Engleterre aïe ne seit dunée.
Suspire e purpense cument ele est alée,
E maldit la guerre quand jà fud cumenciée;
Puis pense en sun curage, si Damnes-Deus l'agrée,
Par lui e par sa force d'aukes serrad vengée,
E par les pruedhumes ki sunt de la cuntrée,
Ki forment desirent de vengier lur haschée.
§ Li sires Humfrei de Boün est mult de grant cuintise,
Al ainz qu'il pot espuruner s'en part de la justise :
Ço est dan Richart de Luci ki tut le munde prise.
Ne volt le rei d'Escoce irer en nule guise,
Kar un sun message noveles li devise :
Venuz fud en la terre, ki lur mettrad asise.
Li cuens de Leircestre la chose si ad emprise
Od Flamens e od Franceis e od gent devers Frise,
Aturnerad Engleterre tut à sa cumandise.
§ " Deus ! fait Richard de Luci, cum sui en grant errance !
Se li reis d'Escoce séust ceste faisance,
N'en aurium pais ne triewe pur tut l'aveir de France;
Ne lui estéust faire, s'il n'iert de grant enfance. "

He should leave the siege and depart of his own free will.
So he did indeed, nor staid longer there,
By none of his men were the reins checked.
To Roxburgh, where they were before,
He went by night like one who was in haste;
Not one of his host lagged behind,
Who did not go away through very great cowardice,
Without any attack having been made upon them
Or being shouted at or damaged in any thing.
Robert de Vaus gained in this chase,
He earned great wealth from these fugitives;
But, whoever is sorry for it or bears any ill will to him,
He will strengthen his place with their property.
Bends his foot and extends his talons,
Thanks God and prays that he will not hate him.
Now the great host of England rides secure.
Sir Richard de Luci, no better needs be sought for,
Well assists his lord to maintain his war,
And he knows at need to ask for truces and peace
Where he sees force and it is necessary to ask for them.
He rides in the land destroyed and wasted:
That is Northumberland which was already renowned.
From here to the passes of Spain there was not such a country
Nor more fruitful, nor people more honored;
Now it is in great famine, becomes annihilated,
If by the king of England aid is not given.
He sighs and thinks how it is decayed,
And curses the war for having already begun;
Then he thinks in his heart, if the Lord God pleases,
By him and his forces it will be soon avenged,
And by the good men who are of the country,
Who desire greatly to revenge their sufferings.
Sir Humphrey de Bohun was of very great cleverness,
As soon has he can spur he goes from the chief-justice:
It is lord Richard de Luci whom every body prizes.
He did not wish to provoke the king of Scotland in any way,
For a messenger of his tells him news:
He had come to the land, who will lay siege to them.
The earl of Leicester has thus undertaken the thing
With Flemings and with French and with people towards Friseland,
He will turn England wholly at his command.
"God! quoth Richard de Luci, what great distress I am in!
If the king of Scotland knew what is doing,
We should have neither peace nor truce for all the wealth of France;
And he ought not to do it, unless he were a great child."

Chevalche e espurune, si ad el cuer pesance;
Mès ainceis qu'il péust avenir à parler en oiance
Al rei d'Aubanie ne faire sa fesance,
Ad dan Humfrei de Boün ki hardement avance
Fait au rei d'Escoce de Berewic nuisance.
§ Mult iert de grant affaire dan Humfrei de Boün,
Li barun de Northumberlant en sunt si cumpaignun;
Arstrent tut Berewic à flambe e à tisun
E une grant partie de terres envirun,
Ke perent en lur marches cruel cume leun;
Mès dan Richard de Luci n'ad suin de tel sermun,
Se dit en sun language: "Sire Humfrei de Boün,
[Li barun de Northumberland en sunt si cumpaignun]
A! si Deu n'en prenge cure, n'i frum si perdre nun.
§ Sire Humfrei de Boün, fait Richart de Luci,
[Ne s'en alast par mult grant lascheté,
Sanz ço que lur fust nul assaut duné
Ne escrié ne de rien damagié:
Robert de Vaus guaignad en ceste chace]
Alum al rei d'Escoce pur crier lui merci
De tenir pais e triewe vers nostre rei Henri.
Li plusur d'Engleterre li sunt trestuit failli.
Savez-vus les noveles que nus avoms oï?
Li cuens de Leircestre nus ad tuz mal baillie;
Arivez est en North-Wales, bien le sachiez de fi,
E ad tensé la terre cum il en fust bailli,
De si k'en Dunewiz par force recuilli."
§ Ore est Humfrei de Boün iriez en sun curage:
"Sire Richart de Luci, ore parra vostre age;
E vus seiez en haste, si cum l'um dit, tant sage.
Alez al rei d'Escoce, celez-lui cest damage.
S'il set ceste novele (mult iert de fier curage)
Ke li cuens seit arivez e venuz à passage,
Ne vus durras sa triewe, s'il n'ad el cuer la rage.
Jo m'en irrai arriere, ço iert pur sun damage:
Si Deus le volt e grée, jo desfrai l'ultrage.
Mar i furent arivez de Flandres la salvage."
Ore ad Richart de Luci fait cume sené,
Tut ad del rei [d'Escoce] quanqu'il ad demandé
De triewes vers Northumberland de si que vers l'esté;
E dan Humfrei de Boün s'en est ariere alé
E maint gentil chevalier d'Engleterre né;
Si serrunt ainz curt terme vers Flamens acuinté.
§ Bien l'avez oï dire, li petit e li grant,
Ke le cunte Robert est alé tant avant,

He rides and spurs, and has in his heart heaviness;
But before he could succeed to speak in hearing
Of the king of Albany or do his business,
Had lord Humphrey de Bohun who boldly advances
Caused to the king of Scotland the loss of Berwick.
Lord Humphrey de Bohun was of very great consequence;
The barons of Northumberland are his companions in it;
They burnt all Berwick with fire and fire-brands
And a great part of the surrounding country,
For they appear in their marches cruel as lions;
But lord Richard de Luci does not care for such speech,
And says in his language: "Sir Humphrey de Bohun,
[The barons of Northumberland are his companions in it]
Ah! if God does not take care, we shall certainly lose.
"Sir Humphrey de Bohun, quoth Richard de Luci,
[Who did not go away through very great cowardice,
Without any attack having been made upon them
Or being shouted at or damaged in any thing.
Robert de Vaus gained in this chase]
Let us go to the king of Scotland to cry him mercy
To hold peace and truce to our king Henry.
The most of England have all failed him.
Know you the news that we have heard?
The earl of Leicester has ill-treated us all;
He has arrived in North-Wales, you may be certain of it,
And has protected the land as if he was sheriff of it,
As far as Dunwich by force he got it."
Now is Humphrey de Bohun roused in his heart:
"Sir Richard de Luci, your age will now appear
And if you are now, as they say, so wise.
Go to the king of Scotland, conceal from him this damage.
If he knows this news (he will be of a very fierce courage)
That the earl has arrived and succeeded in passing,
He will not give you his truce, unless he has madness in his body.
I will go back, it will be for his damage.
If God is willing and agrees, I will efface the outrage.
Wrongly they had arrived from Flanders the wild."
Now has Richard de Luci done as a sensible (man),
He has from the king [of Scotland] all he had asked
Of truces for Northumberland till about summer;
And lord Humphrey de Bohun is gone back
And many a gentle knight in England born;
They will be in a short time with Flemings acquainted.
You have heard it well, the little and the great,
That earl Robert is gone so forward

Arivez en Sufolke la terre vait tensant;
De si qu'en Dunewiz tut vait par sun cumant,
Maint gentil hum de Flandres li vait le jor siewant:
Dunt li reis d'Engleterre en ot puis joie grant.
§ Li cuens Huge Bigot ad ses messages pris,
E mande de Dunewiz ceus qui lur est amis,
Prengent sei al cunte, si aurunt gieus e ris,
U cil perdrunt les testes ki sunt encore vifs;
E cil li unt remandé mar seit cunseil pris,
Ainz se vendrunt mult chier envers lur enemis.
§ Bien l'avez oï dire en reprovier:
" Ki fait tricherie sun seignur dreiturier
U nule felunie ù il ait desturbier,
D'aver malveis gueredun ne se deit pas duter;
E ki leaument lu sert si fait mult à preisier. "
Si fist la gent de Dunewiz, dunt vus m'oez parler.
Li cuens de Leircestre les voleit asiegier,
E jura sun serrement dunt il fud custumier,
S'à lui ne se rendissent li burgeis e li per,
N'eschapereit un hume senz mort u desturbier;
E cil li remanderent ki ainz ainz premier:
" Dehé ait ki vus dute l'amuntant d'un denier!
Encore est vifs li bon reis dreiturier,
Ki fera vostre guerre mult tost anienter.
Tant cum nus poüm vivre e sur les piez ester,
Ne rendrum la vile pur nul assaut duter. "
Li cuens de Leircestre se prist à curucier,
E fait dressier les furches pur els espoenter;
Puis fait armer en haste serjant e escuier,
Pur assaillir la vile forment se volt pener.
Le jor veissiez burgeis, bien vaillant chevalier,
Saillir à lur defenses; chascun set sun mestier,
Les uns des arcs traire, les autres à lancier;
Les forz aident as fiebles suvent à reposer.
N'i ot dedenz la vile pucele ne muillier
Ki ne portast la piere al paliz pur geter.
§ Issi se defendirent la gent de Dunewiz,
Si cum ces vers parolent ki sunt ici escriz;
E tant furent prud'hume li granz e li petiz
Ke le cunte Robert s'en vait tut escharniz.
Li cuens de Leircestre est mult de grant valur,
Envers la gent de Dunewiz ne trovad nul amur;
Ne li pout aver mestier assaut ne vavassur
Ne serjant ne escuier, dunt cil aient poür.
Entre lui e le cunte se mistrent al retur,

That he has arrived in Suffolk, (and) goes protecting the land;
As far as Dunwich all moves by his command,
Many a gentleman of Flanders goes this day following him:
Whereat the king of England had afterwards a great joy.
Earl Hugh Bigod has taken his messengers,
And announces to those of Dunwich that he is their friend,
That they should take part with the earl, and they should have play
Or that they would lose their heads who are still living; [and fun,
And those have answered him that wrongly counsel would be taken
On the contrary they will sell themselves dear to their [about it,
Surely you have heard it in proverb: [enemies.
"He who commits treason to his lawful lord
Or any felony by which he suffer injury,
To have bad recompense must not doubt;
And he who loyally serves him is much to be esteemed."
So did the people of Dunwich, of whom you hear me speak.
The earl of Leicester wished to besiege them,
And swore his oath which he was accustomed,
If the burghers and the peers did not surrender to him,
There should not escape a man without death or injury;
And these answer him with emulation:
"Confounded be he who dreads you to the amount of a denier!
Still living is the good lawful king,
Who will very soon bring your war to an end.
As long as we can live and stand on our feet,
We will not surrender the town from fear of any assault."
The earl of Leicester began to be angry,
And erects the gallows to frighten them;
Then causes to arm in haste serjeants and esquires,
To assault the town vigorously he resolved to do what he could.
That day you might have seen burghers, very valiant knights,
Sally out to their fortifications; each knows his business,
Some to draw bows, others to sling;
The strong help the feeble often to repose.
There was within the town neither maid or woman
Who did not carry a stone to the palisade to cast.
So did the people of Dunwich defend themselves,
As these verses speak which are here written;
And so brave were the great and the little
That earl Robert went away quite scorned.
The earl of Leicester is of very great valour,
Towards the people of Dunwich he found no love;
Neither assault nor vassal could be of any use to him,
Nor serjeant nor esquire, whom those might fear.
He and the earl set about returning,

Desqu'al demein al aube, quant vit pareir le jor.
Manda ses cunestables, si lur dit en oiance:
" Faites munter voz humes, mar ierl demurance.
Jo m'en irrai à Norewiz, si Deus m'en duinst puissance,
Pur veeir lur afaire, quele est lur contenance."
E cil ne targent mie de faire la fesance;
Tost véissiez en haste despleier mainte mance,
Maint pennuncel de seie porter en bele lance,
E maint bon gentil vassal, maint hum de grant vaillanc . .
Ki volt oïr la verité cum Norewiz fud prise,
Jo ne fui pas el païs quant ele fut asise:
Uns traïtres Lohereng la trahi, pur ço si fud suprise.
Nul ne se pot de traïsun guarder en nul guise,
Fors sulement lu rei Henri, qui les cruels justise
Par la vertu del Criatur e preiere de saint iglise;
Pais à tenir à sun poeir, unkes ne fist feintise,
E Deus, ki unkes ne menti, le tienge en sun servise!
Jordan Fantosme premier se volt abanduner,
Sur tuz les saintuaires un serrement jurer,
N'ad clerc en tut le munde, tant sace recorder
Sa lesçun en sun livre ne de nul art parler,
Ki me péust dire ne sace recunter
Terre qui la vaille de ci qu'à Muntpeslier
Cele de Northfolke, dunt vus m'oez parler,
Plus honuré chevalier ne meillur viandier,
Ne plus gaillardes dames pur largement duner,
Fors la cité de Lundres, ù nul ne set sa per;
As baruns de la vile ne pot nul cumparer.
Unques en ceste [guerre] n'en oïstes parler,
Tant fust riche de terre, ki's osast asiegier
Ne tendre vers els le dei pur sulement penser,
N'en eust malveis gueredun en lieu de sun luier.
Gentil rei d'Engleterre, kar pernez à penser
Cum vus devez Lundres e les baruns amer;
Kar unques ne faillirent lur seignur dreiturer,
Tuz jorz à sa buisine ne fussent li premier.
Asez orent messages de Flandres ultremer,
Ki lur prameteient granz honurs à duner.
Vostre fiz demeine, ke mult devez amer
Quant par nature se prist à acorder,
Lur manda par ses lettres e par sun messagier
[illegible] füissent aïe sun pere à guerreier,
cum jà m'orrez nomer,
sa vie les tendreit si chier,
reit e mult lur volt duner;

Till the morrow at dawn, when he saw the day appear.
He called his constables, and said to them in hearing:
"Mount your men, delay will be wrong.
I will go to Norwich, if God gives me power,
To see their business, what is their countenance."
And those do not delay to do the deed;
Soon might you see in haste displayed many a sleeve,
Many a pennon of silk born on fine lance,
And many a good gentle vassal, many a man of great valour.
If any wish to hear the truth how Norwich was taken,
I was not in the country when it was besieged:
A Lorrain traitor betrayed it, therefore it was surprized.
None can guard himself against treason in any guise,
Except only king Henry, who punishes the cruel
By the virtue of the Creator and the prayer of holy Church;
He never made pretence to keep peace according to his power,
And may God, who never lied, preserve him in his service!
Jordan Fantosme first wanted to give himself up,
On all the reliques an oath to swear,
There is no clerk in all the world, ever so clever in recording
His lesson in his book or in speaking of any art,
Who could tell me or can mention
A land which from hence to Montpellier
Is worth that of Norfolk, of which you hear me speak,
More honoured knights or more hospitable,
Or merrier dames to give largely,
Except the town of London, of which nobody knows its peer;
To the barons of the town none could be compared.
Never in this [war] you heard speak of any,
Let him be ever so rich in land, who dared besiege them
Or point towards them the finger even in thought,
Who had not a sore recompense in lieu of his pay.
Gentle king of England, just imagine
How you ought to love London and the barons;
For never did they fail their lawful lord,
But were always the first at his need.
They had enough of messengers from Flanders beyond the sea,
Who promised to give them great honors.
Your own son, whom you should love much
Since by nature he has begun to be reconciled,
Asked them by letters and by his messengers
To help him to war against his father,
On such condition as you will hear me name,
That all the days of his life he would hold them so dear,
Would love and cherish, and much would give them;

Mès il ne l' volent faire ne sulement granter
Pur vus de vostre regne chacier ne eissillier.
§ Pur ço les devez amer, honurer e cherir
E à lur grant busuine lur leauté merir,
Quant unc pur pramesse ne voleient flechir;
Mès vus amer à lur poeir lur veneit à plaisir.
Gentil rei d'Engleterre, faites le mien desir:
Amez ces qui vus vuelent en leauté servir.
Ne deit pas al joefne rei de rien mesavenir
(Quant par naturesce se prist à repentir)
A mener genz estranges en pur les suens hunir
Ki emprès les jorz sun pere le deivent maintenir.
Anceis que cest siecle cumence à definir,
Purrunt aventures plusurs avenir.
Unkes n'en eustes tel guerre à sustenir,
Ke vostre fiz n'ait graindre; ore penst des suens nurrir.
Li cuens de Leicestre ne fine de guaster
La terre de Northfolke, dunt vus m'oez parler;
Ne pot de Normendie le rei Henri grever:
Pur ço volt Engleterre à sun poeir medler.
Il ad od lui de Flandres par cent e par millier:
Li cuens Huge le Bigot le volt del tut aidier;
E li cuens de Ferrieres, un simple chevalier
(Mielz déust bele dame baisier e acoler
Ke par mal de guerre ferir un chevalier),
Li mande par ses lettres séur puet aler
Par tut Engleterre, n'i aura desturbier.
Bien li dit li cuens ceus qui vuelent guerreer:
Ço est li reis d'Escoce qu'il ad nomé premier,
E dan David sun frere ki mult fait à preisier,
E dan Rogier de Munbrai ki tuz jorz fud guerreer.
"Il vus vendrad succurre là vus aurez mestier.
Tute la terre brande: pensez del espleitier.
Li vielz reis d'Engleterre aurad des suens mestier;
Mult est en grant barate, si devum Deu loer:
Jamès jor de sa vie ne passera la mer,
Si aura Normendie perdue al passer.
Si vus à Leircestre péussiez chevalchier,
Ainz ke venist la Paske purriez tant aler
Desqu'à la Tur de Lundres purriez tant aler.
La bone cité d'Everwic si est à dan Rogier,
Par tut Everwicsire se fait seignur clamer.
N'i ad enz en mun païs guaires nul chevalier,
Si jo n'ai lur aïe, ne's face tut mater."
— "E Deus! ço dist li cuens, cum ore puis enragier!

But they would not do it nor even consent to it
To chase or exile you from your kingdom.
Therefore you ought to love, honour and cherish them
And at their great need their loyalty recompense,
Since for any promise they would never swerve;
But to love you as they could was their pleasure.
Gentle king of England, do my desire:
Love those who wish to serve you in loyalty.
There should not to the young king come any harm
(Since by nature he has begun to repent)
From bringing foreign people to injure his own
Who after the days of his father are to support him.
Before this age comes to an end,
Many adventures may happen.
Never had you such a war to sustain,
But your son had a greater; now let him think of nourishing his [people.
The earl of Leicester does not cease to waste
The land of Norfolk, of which you hear me speak;
He could not in Normandy injure king Henry:
Therefore he wanted to embroil England as much as he could.
He has with him Flemings by hundreds and by thousands.
Earl Hugh the Bigod wished to aid him altogether;
And count de Ferrieres, a simple knight
(He had better fair lady kiss and embrace
Than with hammer of war strike a knight),
Informs him by his letters he may go secure
Throughout all England, he will have no disturbance there.
The count tells him those who wish to war:
It is the king of Scotland whom he first named,
And lord David his brother who is much to be prized,
And lord Roger of Mowbray who was always a warrior.
"He will come to succour you where you want it.
All the land is on fire: think of moving.
The old king of England will have need of his people;
He is in great difficulty, so we must praise God:
Never in his life will he pass the sea,
But will have lost Normandy by passing.
If you could ride to Leicester,
Before Easter came you might go
As far as the Tower of London, there would be no disturbance.
The good city of York is lord Roger's,
Throughout all Yorkshire he proclaims himself lord.
There are within my country scarcely any knights,
Whom I will not punish, if I have not their aid."
— "Oh! God! thus said the earl, how enraged I could be now!

Trop sui en lunge aidier pur mun seignur aidier
E del viel rei sun pere e de mes mals vengier.
Orrai, seignurs chevaliers, un sul de vus parler?
De faire cest afaire ki m'oserad loer? "
— " Oïl, sire, tut asséur, respunt lui sa muillier.
Jà Damnes-Deus [ne place], ki reis est dreiturier,
Ke vus pur Humfrei de Boün laissiez cest eire ester,
Ne pur le cunte d'Arandel ne pur sun bel parler!
Li Engleis sunt bon vantur, ne se sevent oster;
Mielz sevent as gros hanaps beivre e gueisseillier.
Li cuens de Glowcestre fet mult à reduter;
Mès il ad vostre sorur à muillier e à per:
Pur tut l'aveir de France ne volsist cumencier
De faire nul ultrage dunt eussiez desturbier. "
— " Dame, ço dist le cunte, ore vus oi parler;
Vostre cunseil dei faire, kar mult vus soil amer.
— Sire Huge del Chastel, volez-le-vus granter?
Si vus à Leircestre estiez el dangier,
De tut ceus d'Engleterre ne vus esteust duter;
Ainz lur purriez faire suvent grant desturbier. "
E dist Huge del Chastel: " N'i ad fors del aler. "
Tost purriez oïr e bien en halt crier
Entre Flamens de Flandres e Franceis e Puier:
" Nus n'eimes pas en cest païs venuz pur sujorner,
Mès pur lu rei destruire Henri le vielz guerrier
E pur aver sa leine, dunt avum desirier. "
Seignurs, ço est la verité: li plus furent telier,
Ne saveient porter armes à lei de chevalier.
Mès pur ço furent venuz, pur aveir guain e guerre;
Kar n'ad meillur viandier de Saint-Edmund en terre.
Ore oiez, seignurs baruns, de Deu la grant venjance,
Qu'il fist descendre sur Flamens e sur la gent de France.
Li cuens de Leircestre fud de grant puissance;
Mès trop fud de curage jofne e d'enfance
Quant il par Engleterre volt aler en oiance,
Fesant sa roberie senz aver desturbance,
E fait armer sa femme, porter escu e lance:
La sue grant folie prendrad dure neissance.
Saint-Edmunt aveit chevaliers forment de grant puissance,
Si's fait armer en haste senz nule demurance:
Ço fud Waltier le fiz Robert, dunt vus oiez parlance,
Ki primes justad as Flamens e mist en grief errance.
Certes, le cunte d'Arundel (unkes n'ama tarjance)
I vint od la meisnée, que saint Edmunt avance!
Li sires Humfrei de Boün lur ad fait desturbance;

I have been too long waiting to help my lord
And to revenge myself on the old king his father and for my in-
Shall I hear, lords knights, any one of you speak? [juries.
To do this business who will dare advise me?"
— "Yes, sir, quite boldly, answered him his wife.
Lord God forbid, who is lawful king,
That you for Humphrey de Bohun should give up this journey,
Either for the earl of Arundel or for his fair speech!
The English are great boasters, they do not know how to array;
Better they know with large cups to drink and guzzle.
The earl of Gloucester is much to be feared;
But he has your sister for wife and companion:
For all the wealth of France he would not begin
To commit any outrage from which you would have disturbance."
— "Dame, so said the earl, now I hear you speak;
Your counsel I must follow, for much I love you.
— Sir Hugh del Chastel, will you grant it?
If you were at Leicester in danger,
Of all the men of England you need not be afraid;
But might often cause them great trouble."
And said Hugh del Chastel: "There is nothing to do but go."
Soon you might hear shouting very loud
Between Flemings from Flanders and French and Pohier:
"We have not come to this country to dwell,
But to destroy king Henry the old warrior
And to have his wool, which we desire."
Lords, that is the truth: the most were weavers,
They did not how to bear arms like knights.
But for this they had come, to have gain and war;
For there is no place on earth more hospitable than Saint-Ed-
Now listen, lords barons, to God's great vengeance, [mund's.
Which he poured down on Flemings and on the people of France.
The earl of Leicester was of great power;
But he was in heart too youthful and childish
When through England he wished to go publicly,
Committing his robberies without having disturbance,
And makes his wife take arms, carry shield and lance.
His great folly will take hard birth.
Saint-Edmund's had knights of very great power,
It arms them in haste without any delay:
It was Walter Fitz-Robert, of whom you hear speak,
Who first encountered the Flemings and put [them] into a bad
Indeed, the earl of Arundel (he never loved delay) [way.
Thither came with the train, whom saint Edmund prosper!
Sir Humphrey de Bohun caused them annoyance;

Jà 's verrez entre-ferir, n'i ad autre sevrance.
§ Li cuens [de] Leircestre s'arestut en estant,
E veeit la gent armée ki's veneit aprismant:
" Sire Huge del Chastel, ore çà venez avant,
E tute vostre gelde, li petit e li grant.
Par le mien escient! n'en irrum mès avant,
Si sufferum bataille mult [dure] e mult pesant.
Veez haubers e heaumes cuntre soleil luisant;
Mès ore seiez chevalier, pur Deu le vus cumande.
Mal ait le cors del hume ki primes aut fuiant,
Ke jà seit dit en reprovier ke seium recreiant! "
Li cuens d'Arundel est mult de grant aïr,
E dit à Humfrei de Boün: " Ore les alum ferir
En l'onur Deu e saint Eadmunt, qui est verai martir. "
Respunt Rogier le Bigot: " Tut al vostre plaisir!
Jo n'oi unc en ma vie de rien si grant desir
Cume Flamens destruire, que jo vei ci venir. "
§ Ço fud Waltier le fiz Robert ki puinst premierement;
Ore li seit en aïe li Reis omnipotent!
E vait ferir Flamens mult aïréement;
E cil le refierent, ki ne l' dutent nient.
Il esteient plus de lui par milliers e par cent;
Si l' funt reuser ariere oue la sue gent;
Mès il ne targa mie de querre vengement:
Mar virent Engleterre, tuit en serrunt dolent.
Il encuntra le cunte, si li dit asprement:
" Vus estes hume mun seignur, ne seiez mie lent;
Veiez ses enemis aler à sun destruiement.
Puigniez-i, sire cunte, od nus ensemblement. "
E cil jura la lance Deu (ço fud sun serrement)
Mar amena de Flandres Robert itele gent.
Dunc véissiez le cunte ki fierement se destent,
E dan Rogier le Bigot ki les granz fés enprent.
Ne dan Huge de Creissi ne lur failli nient;
Mès anceis qu'il péussent ferir sur els à lur talent,
Aveit Humfrei de Boün retenuz plus de cent.
§ Certes, mult le fait bien Robert le fiz Bernart,
De cele gent estrange fait merveillus essart;
Ne s'i puet pru aidier ne Flameng ne Lumbart:
La leine d'Engleterre mult par cuillerent tart.
Desur lur cors descendent corneilles e busart,
Ki les armes enportent el fu qui tut tens art.
Là lur dirrad la messe li prestre saint Suart;
Mielz lur vendreit en Flandres pendre à une hart.
Mult fussent pruedhume li Flameng, si Deus lur fust aïe;

Soon you will see them come to blows, there is no other separation.
The earl of Leicester stopped short,
And saw the armed people who came approaching them:
"Sir Hugh del Chastel, now here come forward,
And all your company, the little and the great.
By my conscience! we will not go farther,
We will accept battle very hard and very heavy.
Behold hauberks and helmets against the sun shining;
But now be knights, for God's sake I command you.
Woe to the body of the man who first runs away,
That it may never be said in a proverb that we are recreants."
The earl of Arundel is of great pride,
And says to Humphrey de Bohun: "Now let us go and attack them
In honor of God and saint Edmund, who is a true martyr."
Answers Roger le Bigod: "Quite at your pleasure!
I never in my life had so great a desire for any thing
As to destroy the Flemings, whom I see coming here."
It was Walter Fitz-Robert who spurred on the first,
Now may the omnipotent King be his aid!
And goes to attack the Flemings very furiously;
And they resist him, who fear him not.
They were more than he by thousands and by hundreds,
So they force him back with his people;
But he did not delay to seek vengeance:
Woe to them that they saw England, all will be sorry for it.
He encountered the earl, and said to him harshly:
"You are the man of my lord, be not slow;
See his enemies going to his destruction.
Spur on, sir earl, along with us."
And this swore by God's lance, that was his oath,
Woe to Robert that he brought from Flanders such people.
Then you might see the earl who drew himself up proudly,
And lord Roger le Bigod who undertakes great deeds.
Nor did lord Hugh de Creissi fail them at all;
But before they could fall upon them at their pleasure,
Humphrey de Bohun had retained more than a hundred.
Certainly well does Robert Fitz-Bernard perform,
Of this foreign people he makes wonderful carnage;
Neither can Flemings or Lombards assist themselves:
The wool of England they gathered very late.
Upon their bodies descend crows and buzzards,
Who carry away the souls to the fire which ever burns.
There the priest of saint Siward will say mass for them;
It would be better for them in Flanders to hang by a rope.
The Flemings would have been very brave, if God were their aid;

Mès il ne l' aveient deservi pur lur grant roberie.
Li cuens de Leircestre mar vit lur cumpaignie,
Ne dan Huge del Chastel ne s'en joïra mie:
Il sunt en mi la presse, fieblement, senz aïe.
Ma dame la cuntesse ad la vie acuillie,
E trova une fosse ù ele près se nie,
Enz en mi le betumei ses aneus i ublie;
Jamès ne serrunt trovez en trestute sa vie.
§ La femme le cunte se volt de gré neier,
Quant Simun de Vahille la prist à relever:
" Dame, venez-en od mei, laissiez icel ester;
Issi vait de guerre, de perdre e de guaignier. "
Dunc prist le cunte Robert forment sei esmaier
Quant vit sa femme prise, bien se dut curuscier,
E vit ses cumpaignuns ocis à cent e à millier:
Prist lui en sun visage la culur à muer.
§ Li sire Humfrei de Bohun e li cuens d'Arundel
Unt retenu le cunte e Huge del Chastel,
E dan Rogier le Bigot le jor i fud novel;
Lui e Huge de Creissi cest fait sembla mult bel.
N'i aveit el païs ne vilain ne corbel
N'alast Flamens destruire à furke e à fleel.
De rien s'entremetteient li armé chevalier,
Fors sul del abatre, e vilains à tuer;
Par quinze, par quarante, par cent e par millier
Les funt à vive force ès fossez tresbuchier.
Si Deus i fist miracle, ne fait à merveillier;
Kar unkes en ma vie n'oï de lui parler,
Tant fust osé d'armes, tant vaillant chevalier,
C'il volsist le rei Henri guerreier,
Pur quei ceus d'Engleterre le volsissent aidier,
Od la pire partie lui n'estéust finer.
§ Puisque le cunte Robert fud pris en descunfiture,
Si fud tut Engleterre d'aukes plus aséure.
Tut les Flamens de Flandres unt pris dure aventure,
Nul des enemis le rei de rien ne s'aséure.
Li cuens David d'Escoce, quei ke nuls vus en die,
Fud le plus gentil guerreier, si Deus me benéie;
Kar unc pur lui ne fud robée saint Iglise n'abéie,
Ne forféist à prestre jà nuls de sa baillie.
Co fud en mai enprès avril ke l'erbe s'est verdie,
Ke David vint d'Escoce od fiere cumpaignie,
Devenuz huem sun frere, veant sa barunie,
A duner lui tut Levenax tuz les jorz de sa vie,
E puis l'onur de Huntedune; sa fei li en ad plevie:

But they had not deserved it for their great robberies.
The earl of Leicester saw their company to his misfortune,
And lord Hugh del Chastel will not rejoice in it:
They are in the midst of the crowd, feeble, without aid.
My lady the countess has entered the way,
And met with a ditch where she was almost drowned,
In the midst of the mud her rings she forgets;
Never will they be found in all her life.
The wife of the earl wished to drown herself intentionally,
When Simon de Vahull set about lifting her up:
"Lady, come away with me, give up that idea;
Thus it fares in war, to lose or to gain."
Then began earl Robert to be strongly affected
When he saw his wife taken, he had good reason to be angry,
And saw his companions slain by hundreds and by thousands:
The colour began to change in his face.
Lord Humphrey de Bohun and the earl of Arundel
Have detained the earl and Hugh del Chastel,
And lord Roger le Bigod was this day newly arrived;
To him and to Hugh de Creissi this deed seemed very fine.
There was in the country neither villager nor clown
Who did not go to destroy the Flemings with fork and flail.
With nothing meddled the armed knights
But only with knocking down, and the villagers with killing;
By fifteens, by forties, by hundreds and by thousands
By main force they make then tumble into the ditches.
If God did a miracle there, it is not to be wondered at;
For never in my life I heard speak of any man,
However bold he might be in arms, however valiant a knight,
If he wanted to war against king Henry,
And even those of England desired to aid him,
Who did not end by getting the worst of it.
Since earl Robert was defeated and taken,
All England was somewhat more secure.
All the Flemings of Flanders met with hard luck,
None of the king's enemies feels secure of any thing.
Earl David of Scotland, whatever may be said of him,
Was the most gentle warrior, so God bless me;
For never by him was robbed holy church or abbey,
And none under his orders would have injured a priest.
It was in May after April when the grass has grown green,
That David came from Scotland with proud company,
(Having) become his brother's man, in the presence of his baronage,
On giving him all Lennox all the days of his life,
Besides the honor of Huntingdon; he has pledged his faith for it:

Cel e mult plus li durra, pur quei li face aïe
A guerreier le rei Henri, le duc de Normendie.
Ore est David d'Escoce en Engleterre venuz
Od haubers e od healmes e od beus painz escuz.
Icil de Leircestre li manderent saluz,
E dient de lur seignur cum lui est avenuz :
Or vienge pur els maintenir, si serra recéuz;
Par lui e par sa force iert li chastel tenuz.
Certes, à Bertram de Verdun serra mult chier venduz;
Si puet estre d'eus bailliz, tut serrad irascuz.
Ore oiez, seignurs, del cunte cument il fud pris :
Il out en Huntedune laissié de ses amis,
Il fud en Leircestre très bien poestis;
A ceus de Notingeham en iert tuz jorz de pis.
§ Icil de Northamtune furent de grant valur;
Mès dan David d'Escoce les mist en grief errur :
Ne pot tenserie de eus aver par amur,
Si fist sa chevalchie sur les burgeis un jor.
Certes, ki voldrad oïr, jo'n dirrai la verrur :
Bien le fist le cunte e tuit si cumpaignun.
Mult firent bien li chevalier qui vindrent del chastel;
Li sires Bertram de Verdun le jor i fud novel,
Mult aveit beles armes e cheval bien ignel,
Des plusurs qui justerent en porta le cembel;
E dan David d'Escoce i fist de sun avel,
Il mena tel preie que mult [li] sembla bel.
Mult guerreia bien David dedenz Engleterre;
Mès li reis d'Escoce empeira mult sa guerre :
Par ses malveis cunseilliers tel chose enprist à faire
Dunt à la parestrusse li vint mult graut cuntraire.
David esteit mult sages, si refud de bon aire,
E tensa saint Iglise, k'unkes ne volt mesfaire
Prestre ne chanuine ki séussent gramaire,
N'à nune d'abéie ne volt pur rien desplaire.
Co fud enprès la Paskes, bien me deit suvenir,
Que li reis d'Escoce cumence à revenir
Envers Northumberlande pur guaster e hunir.
A, Deu! cum grant damage jo lur vi avenir!
Quant li reis d'Escoce vint pur Werc envaïr,
De la quel partie il voleit assaillir,
Rogier d'Estutevile s'aveit fait si guarnir.
Dehé ait Fantosme, si jà m'orrez mentir!
E si jo vus menteie, si l' purriez bien oïr
Cum Rogier fud penible de sun seignur servir.
§ Oez del rei d'Escoce cument il guerreia,

That and much more he will give him, provided he assist him
To make war on king Henry, the duke of Normandy.
Now has David of Scotland to England come
With hauberks and with helmets and with fine painted shields.
Those of Leicester sent him greeting,
And say how it has happened to their lord:
Now let him come to defend them, and he will be well received;
By him and by his force will the castle be held.
Certainly, to Bertram de Verdun it will be very dearly sold;
If it fall into their hands, he will be very angry.
Now hear, lords, of the earl how he was taken:
He had in Huntingdon left some of his friends,
He was in Leicester exceedingly powerful;
To those of Nottingham it will be worse every day.
Those of Northampton were of great valour;
But lord David of Scotland put them to great difficulty:
He could not have assistance from them for love,
So he led his cavalry against the burghers one day.
Certainly, whoever will listen, I will tell him the truth of it.
Well did the earl and all his companions.
Exceedingly well did the knights who came from the castle.
Lord Bertram de Verdun was there this day newly arrived,
He had fine arms and a horse very fleet,
From many who justed he the prize carried off;
And lord David of Scotland did there his desire,
He carried off such a booty as seemed [to him] very fine.
David in England warred very well;
But the war turned out badly to the king of Scotland:
By his evil counsellors he undertook to do such a thing
From which at the end came to him very great misfortune.
David was very wise, and was also amiable,
And protected holy Church, for never did he wish to wrong
A priest or canon who knew grammar,
Nor nun of abbey would he displease.
It was after Easter, I ought to remember well,
That the king of Scotland began to return
Towards Northumberland to waste and injure.
Oh, God! what great damage I saw befall them!
When the king of Scotland came to attack Wark,
On whatever side he wished to assault,
Roger d'Estutevile had prepared himself there for it.
Woe to Fantosme, if you ever hear me lie!
And if I lie to you, you may well hear it
How Roger laboured to serve his lord.
Hear of the king of Scotland how he warred,

Quant il departi de Werc cum il se purpensa :
Mult grant chevalerie la nuit apparailla,
Al chastel de Banesburc sempres les enveia.
Bien cunuis le barun ki's cunduit e ki's guia;
Jà n'en frai parlance, kar mult perdu i a.
Merveillus damage fera cest ost banie;
Kar pléust à Jesu le fiz sainte Marie
Ke la chaitive gent en fust ore guarnie,
Ki en lur liz se dorment e si ne sevent mie !
Matin esteit encore quant l'aube s'esclarzie,
Quant ces chevaliers s'arment, la fiere cumpaignie;
La vile de Belefort fud primes assaillie.
Par tute la cuntrée firent lur departie :
Tels curent as viles pur faire lur folie,
Tels vunt mutuns prendre dedenz lur herbergerie,
Tels vunt ardeir les viles, ne sai que plus vus die;
Jamès de si grant perte n'en iert parole oïe.
Jà péussiez veeir païsanz e Flamens ki vus lie,
Mener en lur cordeles cum gent de paenie.
Femmes fuient al mustier, chascune fud ravie
Nue senz vestéure, sun aveir i ubblie.
A, Deu ! pur quei ne l' saveit Willame de Vedsci,
Rogier d'Estutevile, les autres autresi ?
La preie fust rescuse, n'i eussent pas failli;
Mès il ne l' sorent mie, certes ço peise mi.
Arstrent la cuntrée ; mès Deu lur fud ami
A ces gentilz païsanz ki furent desguarni,
Ke li Escot n'i furent lur mortel enemi :
Tuz les essent estikez, ocis e mal bailli.
Mult fud grant la preie ke meinent les reials,
A Berewic-sur-Tine vienent à lur ostals,
Asez en unt joie e mult de lur aveals ;
Kar riches sunt d'almaille, de bofs e de chevals
E des beles vaches, de berbiz e d'aigneaus,
De dras e de muneie, de nusches e d'aneaus.
Dunc fist li reis d'Escoce mander ses chevaliers,
Les cuntes de sa terre, tuz les meillurs guerriers;
A Werke volt mettre siege par ses bons cunseilliers,
Le chastel voldrad aveir par Flamens e archiers,
Par bones perieres, par ses enginz mult fiers
E par ses eslingurs, par ses arbelastiers.
Volez oïr de Rogier cum il se cuntint ?
Ne s'esmaia de guaires, quant cest ost li vint :
Il aveit en meisnée chevaliers plus de vint,
Certes, les meillurs serjanz k'unkes barun retint.

When he departed from Wark how he proposed:
He prepared at night a great number of chevaliers,
To the castle of Bamborough immediately despatched them.
I well knew the baron who conducted and led them;
I will not speak of him, for much has he lost by it.
This assembled host will do wonderful damage.
Now would to Jesus the son of holy Mary
That the poor people had been then warned of it,
Who in their beds are sleeping and know nothing of it!
It was still morning when the dawn cleared up,
When these chevaliers armed themselves, the fierce company;
The town of Beleford was first attacked.
Over all the country they scattered themselves:
Some run to towns to commit their folly,
Some go to take sheep in their folds,
Some go to burn the towns, I cannot tell you more;
Never will such great destruction be heard spoken of.
Then might you see peasants and Flemings who tie them,
And lead them in their cords like heathen people.
Women fly to the minster, each was ravished
Naked without clothes, she forgets there her property.
Ah, God! why did William de Vedsci not know it,
Roger d'Estutevile, the others also?
The booty were rescued, nor would they have failed in it;
But they knew it not, certainly it grieves me.
They burnt the country; but God was a friend
To those gentle peasants who were defenceless,
For the Scots were not their mortal enemies:
They would have beaten, slain and ill-treated them all.
Very great was the booty which the royalists carry away,
They came to Berwick on Tyne to their lodgings,
They have joy enough for that and much amusement;
For they are rich in cattle, oxen and horses
And in fine cows, sheep and lambs,
In clothes and money, in bracelets and rings.
Then sent the king of Scotland for his knights,
The earls of his land, all the best warriors;
To Wark he wished to lay siege by his good counsellors,
He wished to have the castle by Flemings and archers,
By good stone-bows, by his engines very strong
And by his slingers and his cross-bow-men.
Will you hear of Roger how he behaved himself?
He was not the least dismayed when this host came to him:
He had in his train chevaliers more than twenty,
Certainly, the best serjeants that ever baron retained.

L'ost fud merveillus, de grant chevalerie,
De Flamens e de marchis fiere la cumpaignie.
Rogier d'Estutevile ad sa maisun guarnie,
Ne dute pas lur siege la munte d'un alie:
Il ad mult gent barnage ù il bien s'afie,
E de eus bien amonester ne se ubblia mie.
Par un lundi matin furent appareilliez
Ki le chastel assaudrunt; Flamens furent nomez.
Dunc véissiez targes prendre e ces escuz buclez,
Assaillir le heriçon, cum jà oïr purrez.
Par merveillus hardement sunt venuz ès fossez;
Ceus qui erent par dedenz ne s'i sunt ubbliez;
Jà se sunt entre-feruz e si entre-medlez,
Unc ne vi meillur defens dedenz ces dous regnez.
Flamenc esteient hardiz e mult acuragiez,
E li autre mult engrès dedenz lur fermetez.
Jà véissiez serjanz e Flamens si medlez,
Targes e escuz freindre, penunceus despleiez,
Flamens turner ariere des heriçons, plaiez;
Les uns furent des autres des heriçons portez;
Jamès ne crierunt Araz! mort sunt e enterrez.
§ Lunges dura cel assaut; mès poi espleita:
Certes, lu rei Willame de perdre ne fina.
Rogier d'Estutevile les suens amonesta,
Par mult gentil parole lur dit e sermuna:
" Gentilz baruns cumpaignuns, pur Deu ki vus furma!
Ne dites vilanie, ne nus ne l' ferums jà;
Se il nus assaillent, e Deus nus defendra.
Il funt tort al rei Henri, kar mesfait n'i a.
§ Ne traiez voz saiettes fors sul as granz mestiers;
Ne savum lur curages ne rien de lur pensers.
Il unt larges veies e chemins e sentiers,
Le vins e la cerveise, les beivres, les mangiers,
E sunt riches d'armes e de curanz destriers;
E nus eimes ci-dedenz serjant e soldeiers:
Si nus avom viande, guardum-la volentiers.
Esparniez voz armes, jo l' di à vus, archiers;
Mès quant verrez busuine e granz assauz pleniers,
Defendez dunc voz testes cum gentilz chevaliers."
Rogier d'Estutevile chastiot si la gent,
E li reis d'Escoce se curusceit forment.
Quant vit ses serjanz murir e meschaïr suvent
E vit que rien n'i espleitot, si fud el cuer dolent;
E dit à ses chevaliers par sun grant marrement:
" Faites vostre periere venir hastivement;

The host was marvellous, of great chivalry,
Of Flemings and Border-men fierce (was) the company.
Roger d'Estutevile has garrisoned his house,
He does not fear their siege the value of a clove of garlick:
He has a very gentle baronage to whom he trusts much,
And to exhort them well he did not forget.
By a monday morning were equipped
(Those) who shall assault the castle, Flemings were named.
Then you might see shields seized and convex bucklers,
The port-cullis assaulted, as you may soon hear.
By wonderful daring they came to the ditches;
Those who were inside did not forget themselves;
They soon struck each other and were so mingled together
(That) I never saw a better defence in these two kingdoms.
The Flemings were daring and very courageous,
And the other much enraged in their fortress.
Soon you might see serjeants and Flemings so mingled,
Shields and bucklers broken, pennons displayed,
Flemings turning back from the port-cullisses, wounded;
Some were carried from the port-cullisses by others;
Never will they cry Arras! dead they are and buried.
Long lasted this assault; but little succeeded:
Certainly king William did not cease to lose.
Roger d'Estutevile exhorted his men,
By very gentle words he addressed and harangued them:
"Gentle barons companions, by God who formed you!
Do not speak basely, and we will not do so;
If they assault us, God will defend us.
They do wrong to king Henry, for he has done no harm.
"Draw not your arrows forth but on great occasions;
We know not their intentions and nothing of their thoughts.
They have wide ways and roads and paths,
Wine and beer, drink, food,
And are rich in arms and in fleet steeds;
And we are here within, serjeants and soldiers:
If we have victuals, let us keep them willingly.
Spare your arms, I say that to you, archers;
But when you see need and great complete assaults,
Then defend your heads like gentle chevaliers."
Roger d'Estutevile exhorted thus the people,
And the king of Scotland was greatly enraged.
When he saw his serjeants die and often fail
And saw that he was not gaining ground, he was grieved in heart;
And said to his chevaliers in his great irritation:
"Make your stone-bow come hastily;

Jà pescera la porte, si l' engignur ne ment;
E prendrum le baile senz nul delaiement. "
[O]ez, seignurs, de la periere cument ele ala :
La premiere piere qu'ele unkes lur geta,
La piere de la funde à peine reversa
E un de lur chevaliers à terre agraventa.
Ne fussent ses armes e sun escu qu'il a,
A nul de sun lignage ne revenist-il jà;
Mult deit haïr l'engignur ki cel lur engigna,
E lu rei d'Escoce ki plus perdu i a.
Dunc dist li reis Willame burde merveilluse :
" Certes, ceste fesance me semble mult cutuse.
El cuer me tient la rage e ire si hisduse,
Mielz volsisse estre pris tut vif devant Tuluse. "
N'est mie grant merveille si ad el cuer pesance :
Mar vit Flamens de Flandres e puis lu rei de France;
Il set bien la verité enfin e senz faillance :
Que perdu ad lu rei Henri senz nule desestance,
E ne li puet mesfaire par escu ne par lance
Ne par engin de guerre, dunt guaires ait nuisance.
Quant la periere li failli, si fist l'autre atraire :
Ardeir voldra le chastel, ne set mielz que faire;
Mès Jesu le glorius, de tutes riens furmeire,
Turnad au rei d'Escoce le vent mult à cuntraire,
E à Rogier le barun cumençad mult à pleire.
Ore ad si grant leesce, en sa vie n'out maire.
Dunc dit li reis Willame : " Laissum ester cest siege;
Jo vei ma gent destruire e mal qui nus abriege.
Certes, ceste faisance el cuer forment m'agriege.
Rogier d'Estutevile nus ad trovez al triege. "
§ Li reis d'Escoce fist la nuit sun ost eschielguaitier,
Desqu'al demein al aube quant jor apparut cler,
Qu'il fist trestuz ses cuntes e baruns asembler :
" Gentilz baruns chevaliers, ore m'en oiez parler :
Laissum ester cest siege, n'i poüm espleitier;
Ainz i avum grant perte : pensez del restorer.
Faites le fu esprendre, ces loges alumer,
Voz trefs et voz acubes cuillir e pleier,
Si faites à Rokesburc trestut mun ost aler. "
Dunc véissiez ces marchanz e venir e aler,
Destendre ces paveilluns, e ces trefs despleier,
Par cel ost d'Escoce grant noise demener :
De grant descunfiture li péust remenbrer.
Depart le rei Willame, ki si s'en volt aler.
A tant funt ces loges esprendre e alumer.

It will soon break the gate, if the engineer lies not;
And we shall take the draw-bridge without any delay."
Hear, lords, of the stone-bow how it went on:
The first stone which it ever cast at them,
The stone from the sling was scarcely reversed
When it knocked one of their knights to the ground.
Were it not for his armour and the shield which he had,
To none of his lineage had he ever returned;
Much must he hate the engineer who contrived that for them,
And the king of Scotland who lost more by it.
Then said king William a marvellous speech:
"Certainly this deed seems to me very costly.
Rage possesses my heart and wrath so hideous,
I had rather be taken quite alive before Toulouse."
It is no marvel if he has heaviness in his heart:
Woe that he saw Flemings of Flanders and then the king of France;
He knows well the truth at last and without mistake:
That he has lost king Henry without any remedy,
And cannot injure him by buckler or lance
Nor by engine of war, from which he may have much harm.
When the stone-bow failed him, he ordered up the other:
He fain would burn the castle, he knows not what to do better;
But Jesus the glorious, of all things the creator,
Turned against the king of Scotland the wind very contrary,
And to Roger the baron it began much to please.
Now he has such great gladness, in his life he never had more.
Then said king William: "Let us raise this siege;
I see my people destroyed and the mischief which cuts us off.
Certainly, this affair grieves me strongly at heart.
Roger d'Estutevile has found us out."
The king of Scotland made his host watch in the night,
Until the following day at dawn when daylight appeared clear,
When he assembled all his earls and barons:
"Gentle barons knights, now hear me speak:
Let us raise this siege, we can make nothing of it;
But we have great loss by it: think of restoring it.
Kindle the fire, burn these huts,
Collect and fold your tents and pavilions,
And send all my host to Roxburgh."
Then you might see these merchants coming and going,
Unpitching the pavilions, and unfolding the tents,
Through this host of Scotland making great noise:
Of great discomfiture he might well remember.
Departed king William, who wished to go.
Now they set the huts on fire and burn them.

Mult fud grant la noise, ne vus fait à celer,
Ke par cel ost demeine garçon e escuier.
Rogier d'Estutevile ne fud mie lanier,
Ne abunde de guerre ne vilain chevalier;
Unkes de plus sage n'en oïstes parler,
Ne plus mesurable ne plus gentil guerrier.
Quant vit cel ost banie vers Rokesburc aler,
A sun gent barnage cumençad à parler:
" Ne dites vilanie; pur Deu! laissum ester,
Ne cele gent d'Escoce escrier ne huer;
Mès Deu nostre pere devum tuz loer:
Quant il del rei d'Escoce e de sun ost si fier
Nus ad tenu les vies, si l' devom mercier.
" [D]e juer ne d'enveisier ne vus defend-jo mie;
E quant les verrez departir, le rei e s'ost banie,
Dunc escriez voz joies chascun de sa partie;
Jo refrai la meie, si qu'ele iert oïe.
Le fiz fait tort au pere, qui si le cuntralie. "
Dunc oïssiez ces greidles suner par establie:
N'i aveit pas reprueces, ne dite vilanie;
Mès suns e rotruenges, e regrettent amie,
De corns e de busines mult bele rebundie.
§ Rogier d'Estutevile si est el cuer haitiez,
Si deit-il bien estre, ne vus esmerveilliez;
Kar li reis d'Escoce li ad le sun laissiez:
Il n'ad, la merci Deu, ne perdu ne guaigniez,
Nul de sa maisnée ocis ne afolez,
Chevalier ne serjant dedenz le cors nafrez
Dunt li estéust un denier muneiez
A mire de Salerne pur estre medcinez.
Seignurs, si faitierment parti li reis Willame
De Werc, et d'icel siege aurad encore blame.
Tant ad el cuer grant ire, a poi qu'il ne se pasme.
Puis a juré un serrement, saint Andreu e saint Jacme,
Ne larrad si la guerre pur perdre sun realme.
§ Estes-vus Rogier de Munbrai, ki mult saveit de guerre;
A ses dous fiz ainz nez aveit laissié sa terre,
Ses chastels, ses demeines, e il le sorent faire.
Il vint au rei d'Escoce pur prier e pur requerre
Qu'il guerriast tut aséur, kar ço en iert la veire
Qu'il n'iert pas en terre qui li féist cuntraire.
Ore ad li reis tel joie, unc en sa vie n'ot maire;
Unkes de mal faire ne se voleit retraire.
La nuit fud le cunseil pris cument il le ferunt:
A Carduil regieres le matin en irrunt,

Very great was the noise, that is not to be concealed from you,
Which in this host servants and esquires make.
Roger d'Estutevile was no coward,
Nor fearful in war nor base knight;
Never of a wiser man did you hear speak,
Nor of more steady nor of more gentle warrior.
When he saw this assembled host towards Roxburgh going,
To his gentle baronage he began to speak:
"Say nothing wrong; for God's sake! let it be,
Neither cry at nor hoot these people of Scotland;
But God our father we must all praise:
When he from the king of Scotland and from his host so wild
Has preserved us our lives, we ought to thank him.
"To play or to amuse yourselves I forbid not;
And when you see the king and his assembled host depart,
Then shout your joy each for himself;
I shall do the same, so that it shall be heard.
The son injures the father, who opposes him so."
Then might you hear the cornets sounding by ranks:
There were no reproaches, nor bad words said;
But songs and rotruenges, and they regret (their) sweet-hearts;
Of horns and trumpets very fine (was) the accord.
Roger d'Estutevile is glad at heart,
Well ought he to be so, do not wonder (at it);
For the king of Scotland has left him his own:
He has, thank God, neither lost nor won,
(And has) none of his followers slain or injured,
Knight or serjeant in the body wounded
For whom he should have to give a coined denier
To a physician of Salerno to be treated for it.
Lords, in such way departed king William
From Wark, and for that siege he will still have blame.
He has such great wrath in his heart that he almost faints from it.
Then has sworn an oath, saint Andrew and saint James,
He will not give up the war though he were to lose his kingdom.
Behold Robert de Mowbray, who well knew war;
To his two eldest sons had left his land,
His castles, his domains, and they knew what to do.
He came to the king of Scotland to beg and to request
That he would fight quite securely, for that it was the truth
That there was not on earth any one who could oppose him.
Now has the king such joy, never in his life had he more;
Never would he draw back from doing wrong.
In the night was the counsel taken how they should act:
To royal Carlisle in the morning they shall go,

N'i ad ki cel desdie; mès ore cumencerunt,
De querre lur damage jamès ne finerunt.
Ore est Rogier de Munbrai od le rei d'Aubanie
De guerreer à sun poeir, à force e en aïe,
Si est dan Adam de Porz od grant chevalerie;
Il erent les meillurs guerriers que l'um saveit en vie.
Il aveient jadis esté; mès il n'en sevent mie
Ke Deus ne voldrad lunges cunsentir lur folie.
Vait s'en li reis Willame od sa grant ost banie
Vers Carduil la bele, la fort cité guarnie.
Dan Rogier de Munbrai e sa chevalerie
E dan Adam de Porz à ses marchiz se lie.
Les cuntes d'Escoce meinent la gent haïe,
Ki unkes n'orent pitié de faire diablie.
Tant eirent lur jornées, ne sai que plus vus die,
Qu'il poent veeir Carduil de beauté replenie;
Les murs e les tureles li soleilz esclarzie.
Ki ad enveisié gumfanum, volentiers le desplie;
E sunent ces busines de chascune establie:
Noise péussiez oïr en la cité fremie;
Mès dan Robert de Vaus ducement l'en prie
Ne seient esmaiez, ne facent cuardie;
Kar, si Deus le maintient sains e sauf sa vie,
Ne dute de rien cel ost ne le rei d'Albanie.
Li reis apele Rogier e Adam en cunseil,
Wautier de Berkelai, ki iert un sun fedeil:
" Ore veez, francs chevaliers, mult gentil appareil;
Ne savez acunter le blanc ne le vermeil,
Tant i ad gumfanuns cuntremunt le soleil!
Alez-mei à Robert, dites que jo li mand
Rende-mei le chastel dès ici en avant:
Il aurad nul succurs de nul hume vivant,
Ne li reis d'Engleterre ne li ert mès guarant;
E s'il ço ne volt faire, bien li seiez jurant
Il en perdrad le chief e murrunt si enfant.
Ne li larrai un sul ne ami ne parent
Ke trestuit ne's eissille, s'il ne fait mun cumant."
Ore s'en unt les baruns la triewe demandant,
Vunt à Robert de Vaus là ù il iert en estant;
Un hauberc ot vestu, à un kernel puiant,
E teneit en sa mein un espée trenchant
Od trenchant alemele, bel l'alot maniant;
E vit le messagier ki l'alot apelant,
De lui e de sa gent la triewe demandant,
E il li respundi: " Amis, qu'alez querant?

No one disputes it; but now they shall begin,
They will never cease to look for their injury.
Now is Roger de Mowbray with the king of Albany
To make war according to his power, with strength and in aid,
So is lord Adam de Porz with great chivalry;
They were the best warriors known to be in existence.
They had been once (so); but they little know
That God will not long consent to their folly.
Away goes king William with his great gathered host
Towards Carlisle the fair, the strong garrisoned city.
Lord Roger de Mowbray and his chivalry
And lord Adam de Porz joins himself to his Border-men.
The earls of Scotland lead the hated people,
Who never had any repugnance to do fiendish things.
They make such progress, I know not what more to tell you,
That they could see Carlisle full of beauty;
The sun illuminates the walls and turrets.
He who has a merry banner, gladly displays it;
And sound the trumpets in every rank:
You might hear noise in the shuddering city;
But lord Robert de Vaus gently begs them
Not to be dismayed nor act cowardly;
For, if God keeps his life safe and sound,
He fears not at all this host nor the king of Albany.
The king summons Roger and Adam to council,
Walter de Berkeley who was one of his followers:
"Now behold, noble knights, much gentle preparation;
You cannot count the white nor the red,
So many are the banners in the sun!
"Go to Robert, say that I send him this message
Surrender me the castle this very moment:
He will have no succour from any living man,
And the king of England will never more be his defender;
And if he will not do so, swear well to him
He shall lose his head for it and his children shall die.
I will leave him not a single friend or relation
Whom I will not exile, if he does not execute my command."
Now go the barons demanding the truce,
They go to Robert de Vaus where he was;
He was dressed in a breast-plate, leaning on a battlement,
And held in his hand a keen sword
With a sharp edge, he handled it gently;
And saw the messenger who called him,
From him and his men asking the truce,
And he answered him: "Friend, what is it you want?

Tost i purriez laissier le petit e le grant. "
E dit li messagier: " Ço n'est pas avenant:
Ne deit l'um messagier sun message portant
Laidir ne afoler; dire puet sun talent. "
E dit Robert de Vaus: " Ore venez plus avant,
Dites vostre plaisir; ne seiez rien dutant. "
Seignurs, si faitement ad li message parlé
A Robert, ki est le chief, e à tut le barné:
" Sire Robert de Vaus, pruz estes e sené.
Messagier sui le rei, il est mun avué;
Il vus mande par mei saluz e amitié.
Rendez-lui le chastel ki est sun herité:
Ses ancestres l'orent jà lunges en quieté;
Mès li reis d'Engleterre l'en ad desherité,
Ço vus mande par mei, à tort e à pechié.
Si savez, si vus plaist, que ço est verité.
Ne fustes pas enfant ne d'enfantil eé
Ke vus cest ne véistes e trestut le regné.
Ore li faites amur par devant sun barné:
Rendez-lui le chastel e tut le fermeté,
E il tant vus dura del argent muneé
Unkes Hubert de Vaus tant n'en out asemblé.
§ Rendez-lui le chastel par tel devisiun,
E devenez sun hume par tel conditiun:
Tant vus durrad aveir entre or fin e mangun,
E plus encore asez que nus ne vus dium.
Si vus cest ne graantez pur lui desheriter,
Ne devez en nul lieu en sun cors afier:
Il fera le chastel de sa gent asiegier,
N'en istrez à nul jor senz vostre desturbier;
E s'il puet le chastel par force cunquester,
Jà li reis d'Engleterre ne vus aura mestier
Ne tut l'or de sun regne k'il péust asembler,
Qu'il ne vus face detraire e à male mort jugier. "
Quant ço oïd dan Robert, si fud de grant mesure:
" N'avum suin de tencier ne de manace cure.
Nus eimes ci dedenz bone gent asséure:
Fel seit ki se rendra tant cum viande li dure!
Dites-mei, message, ke Deus vus duinst honur!
Alez au rei d'Escoce, ki est vostre seignur;
Dites ke jo li mand ne li toil nul honur
Ne fieus ne heritez, ne ne frai à nul jor;
Mès voist au rei Henri, si face sa clamur
Que jo tieng de Carduil le chastel e la tur
Par force cuntre lui cume vers guerreiur;

You might soon leave there the little and the great."
And said the messenger: "That is not courteous:
A messenger carrying his message should not be
Insulted or ill-treated; he may say what he likes."
And said Robert de Vaus: "Now come nearer,
Say your pleasure; be afraid of nothing."
Lords, in such way did the messenger speak
To Robert, who is the chief, and to all the baronage:
"Sir Robert de Vaus, you are valiant and wise.
I am the king's messenger, he is my protector;
He sends you by me salutation and friendship.
Restore him the castle which is his inheritance:
His ancestors had it already long in peacefulness;
But the king of England has disinherited him of it
Wrongly and sinfully, thus he sends you by me.
And, if you please, you know that this is the truth.
You were not a child nor of childish age
That you and all the kingdom did not see that.
Now show him love before his baronage:
Surrender him the castle and all the fortress,
And he will give you so much coined money
Never Hubert de Vaus had so much collected.
"Surrender him the castle on such terms,
And become his man on such conditions:
He will give you so much property in fine gold and mangon
And much more than we tell you.
"If you do not consent to it to disinherit him,
You must not in any place trust to his person:
He will besiege the castle with his people,
You will not go out of it any day without injury to you;
And if he can gain the castle by force,
The king of England will be of no avail to you
Nor all the gold of his kingdom which he could collect,
To prevent you from being quartered and adjudged to a bad death."
When lord Robert heard this, he was very calm:
"We do not care about quarels or threats.
Were are here within good steady people:
May he disgraced who will surrender himself as long as victuals last!
Tell me, messenger, may God give you honor!
Go to the king of Scotland, who is your lord;
Say that I inform him I take from him no estate
Nor fees nor inheritance, nor will I ever do so;
But let him go to king Henry, let him make his complaint
That I hold the castle and tower of Carlisle
By force against him as a true warrior;

E si mi sire li reis en ait vers mei irrur,
Enveit-mei sun message, mès nul traïtur,
Ki me die de sue part: " Rendez sus cest honur
" Volentiers e de gré, n'i aurad nul retur. "
1430§ E si ço ne l' volt faire, si faimes cuvenant:
Tant me duinsez respit ke seie mer passant,
E dirrai mun seignur, Henri le rei vaillant,
Qu'il li rende sun honur tant cum il vait querant,
Carduil le chastel quanqu'i ad apendant.
Dunc est-il asséur, si jo 'n ai le cumant,
Certes; u, si ço nun, pur murir ci devant,
Le chastel mun seignur ne li serrai rendant. "
§ Quant le message lu rei lu respuns out oï,
Il dist à ses cumpaignuns: " Unckes mès tel ne vi.
1440 Se li reis mun seignur n'en ait de lui merci,
Petit pris le barnage quanqu'il ad ci bani. "
E dit à Robert de Vaus: " Nus en irrum d'ici;
Mar veistes Karduil od tut le rei Henri. "
A tant sunt li message d'iloques departi,
E dient lur seignur quanqu'il aveient oï:
" Sire reis d'Escoce, or oiez le mandement.
Robert vus mande par mei ne vus dute nient;
Ne rendra le chastel pur or ne pur argent,
Ne pur Escoce d'acreis, se il l'aveit en present,
1450 E ainz se larreit murir, veiant tute sa gent.
Il ad enz el chastel asez vin e furment,
Si sunt à un acort entre lui e sa gent.
Dire m'estuvrad trestut quanqu'à messagier apent.
Rien ne vus volt tolir d'iço qu'à vus apent;
Mès, s'il véist sun seignur à qui l'onur apent,
E li rovast issir par sun cumandement,
E déist de sa buche à lui tant sulement:
" Rendez au rei Willame, " mult le freit bonement;
E il li frad saveir tost e hastivement. "
1460 E dist li reis Willame: " Ço est sun gabbement. "
[L]i reis out cunseilliers, si sieut tut lur afaire;
Ne fist à cele feiz à Robert nul cuntraire,
Ainz alad à Appelbi, là endreit tint sun eire.
N'i aveit nule gent: pur ço le prist en eire.
Li reis aveit mult tost le chastel d'Appelbi;
N'i aveit nule gent; si fud tut desguarni.
Cospatric le fiz Horm, un viel Engleis fluri,
Esteit li cunestable; si cria tost merci.
Li reis out ubblié par itant sa dolur
1470 Quant [il ot] Appelbi, le chastel e la tur;

And if my sire the king be angry with me for it,
Let him send me his messenger, but no traitor,
Who may tell me from him: "Give up this honor
"Willingly and cheerfully; there must be no giving it back."
"And if he will not do so, let us make a covenant:
Give me such a respite that I may pass the sea,
And I shall tell my lord, Henry the valiant king,
To give him back his honor as far as he is requiring,
The castle of Carlisle (and) all belonging to it.
Then he is sure of it, if I have the command for it,
Certainly; or, if not, were I to die here before,
The castle of my lord I will not surrender to him."
When the king's messenger the answer had heard,
He said to his companions: "I never saw such thing.
If the king my lord have no pity on it,
I value little all the baronage he has collected here."
And said to Robert de Vaus: "We will go hence;
Woe to you that you saw Carlisle as well as king Henry.
Then the messengers departed thence,
And tell their lord all they had heard:
"Sire king of Scotland, now hear the message.
Robert informs you through me that he fears you not,
He will not surrender the castle for gold or for silver,
And for Scotland besides, if he had a present of it,
And had rather die before all his people.
There is within the castle enough of wine and corn,
And there is unanimity between him and his people.
I must say all that belongs to a messenger.
He does not wish to take from you any thing which is yours;
But, if he saw his lord to whom the honor belongs,
And he ordered him to leave it by his command,
And only said to him with his own mouth:
"Surrender to king William," he would do it very readily;
And he will inform him soon and quickly."
And said king William: "This is a joke of his."
The king had counsellors, he knew all their business;
He did not this time any harm to Robert,
But went to Appleby, there he directed his march.
There were no people in it: therefore he took it speedily.
The king had very soon the castle of Appleby;
There were no people in it, but was quite unguarded.
Gospatric the son of Horm, an old grey-headed Englishman,
Was the constable; he soon cried mercy.
The king had then forgot his sorrow
When [he had] the castle and the tower of Appleby;

E vait mult maneçant le rei, nostre seignur,
Henri le fiz Mahaut, à qui Deu duinst honur!
A veintre tuz iceus li duinst force e vigur
Ki sunt encuntre lui pur lui tolir s'onur!
§ Li reis Willame d'Escoce ad jà pris Appelbi,
E Rogier de Munbrai qui esteit sis amis;
E mettent là dedenz lur serjanz marchis,
E treis cunestables el chastel unt asis;
Asez unt entre eus grant risée e grant ris:
Il ne's quident mès [perdre] desqu'al jor de Juis.
A Burc volent aler, le cunseil fud tost pris.
Se il ne lur est renduz, n'en istra un sul vis;
Mès le chastel ne fud del tut issi esquis
Qu'il n'i ot là dedenz chevaliers plus de sis.
Le chastel fud mult tost de tutes parz asis;
Si lur funt dur assaut e Flamens et marchis,
E unt le premier jor sur els le baile pris,
E eus tost l'unt guerpi e en la tur se sunt mis.
Ore sunt en cele tur, curtes ures durrunt;
Kar il mettent le fu, là dedenz les ardrunt.
[Ne sevent nul cunseil ne que faire purrunt;
Jà est li fieu espris: ore endreit ardrunt.]
"Par ma fei! beau sire, si vus plaist, nu ferunt;
Ainz frunt que chevalier: al rei se tendrunt,
Kar il veient très bien nul sucurs n'aurunt."
Ne poent plus suffrir, au rei rendu se sunt.
Co est faite fesance iço qu'il ore funt.
Au rei se sunt renduz, granz dolurs ès cuers unt.
§ Mès un chevalier noveaus lur iert le jor venuz.
Ore oiez de ses fiz e de ses grauz vertuz:
Puis que ses cumpaignuns se furent tuit renduz,
Remist-il en la tur e saisi dous escuz,
Si's pendi as kerneaus, lungement s'est tenuz,
E lança as Escuz treis espiez esmuluz;
A chascun des espiez ad un mort abatuz.
Quant ceus li sunt failliz, si reprent peus aguz
E lançad as Escoz, si en ad cunfunduz;
E tuz jorz vait criant: "Jà serrez tuz vencuz."
Unc d'un sul vassal ne fud estur mielz tenuz.
Quant li fus li toli le desfens des escuz,
Ne fait pas à blasmer s'il s'est idunc renduz.
Ore est Burc abatuz e le mielz de la tur.
[Ore est Robert de Vals alque en effréur;]
Il enveit sun message dedenz meismes le jor
A Richart de Luci, ki li dit la verrur,

And goes threatening much the king, our lord,
Henry the son of Matilda, to whom God give honor!
To vanquish all those may he give him strength and vigour
Who are against him to deprive him of his estates!
King William of Scotland has already taken Appleby,
And Roger de Mowbray who was his friend;
And place within it their serjeants as warders of the marches,
And they have appointed three constables in the castle;
They have great joy and glee enough among themselves:
They think they never lose them till the day of Judgment.
They want to go to Brough, the resolution was soon taken.
If it is not surrendered to them, not a single living being shall go out of it;
But the castle was not so unprovided,
That there were not within it more than six chevaliers.
The castle was very soon attacked on all sides;
And the Flemings and the Border-men make a violent assault upon them,
And have the first day taken from them the port-cullis,
And soon they left it and placed themselves in the tower.
Now are they in this tower, they will hold out a short time;
For they set fire (to it), they will burn them inside it.
[They do not know any plan nor what they can do;
Already the fire is lighted: now they will be burnt here.]
"By my faith! fair sire, if you please, they will not do so;
But will behave as chevaliers: they will stick to the king,
For they see very well they will have no succour."
They cannot hold out longer, they have surrendered to the king.
That is well done which they do now.
They have surrendered to the king, they have great sorrow in their hearts.
But a new knight had come to them that day.
Now hear of his deeds and his great virtues:
When his companions had all surrendered,
He remained in the tower and seized two shields,
He hung them on the battlements, he staid (there) long,
And threw at the Scots three sharp javelins;
With each of the javelins he has struck a man dead.
When those failed him, he takes up sharp stakes
And hurled (them) at the Scots, and confused some of them,
And ever keeps shouting: "You shall all be soon vanquished."
Never by a single vassal was strife better maintained.
When the fire deprived him of the defence of the shield,
He is not to blame if he then surrendered.
Now is Brough overthrown and the best of the tower.
[Now is Robert de Vaus in some alarm;]
He sends his messenger the same day
To Richard de Luci, who tells him the truth,

Ke pris est Appelbi trestut en la primur,
E le chastel de Burc, que guaires n'est pejur.
" Ore n'ai de nule part aïe ne sucur,
E bien quid que li reis me rendra dur estur. "
E dit Richard de Luci: " Ore face le meillur,
Guard que pur nule rien ne vienge boisdéur;
Mès se il aime Henri sun bon seignur,
Pur lui deit endurer peines e dolur.
Jo lui mand de ma part saluz e amur;
E novele del rei, ainz vienge quinzime jor,
'l averad en Engleterre, si Deu plaist le salveur. "
Quant ço oïd Robert, si li vint la culur;
Ki ore ainz esteit maz, ore est en baudur.
§ De Richart de Luci ore oiez la verité:
Par sun sen qu'il ad bon e sa grant leauté,
Sun seignur de là mer par ses briés ad mandé;
L'evesque de Wincestre, cum il fud devisé,
Il meismes i alad par mult grant amistié,
E dit al rei Henri: " Saluz aiez de Deu!
Engleterre vus salue cume sun avué,
Da[n] Richart de Luci e tut l'autre barné,
Ki se tienent od vus; mès oiez la verité:
Ço ne sunt mie dis, si m'aït Damne-Dé,
Ki se tiengent od vus en dreite leauté. "
§ Dunc demande li reis: " Ke fait dunkes Richart
De Luci le leaus? Est-il de meie part? "
— " Oïl, sire, pur veir, il n'i rent pas endart;
Ainz se larreit lacier à un fust d'une hart. "
§ — " E li cuens d'Arundel, cum il est cuntenant?
Tient se il ovoc mei? vait-nus-il guerreiant?
— " Sire, par la meie fei! ainz est vostre bien voillant
En trestuz voz busuinz, el premier chef devant. "
— " E Humfrei de Boün, cum s'est-il cuntenuz?
Envers mes enemis est-se-il cumbatuz?
— " Sire, par la meie fei! jo'n voil estre créuz,
Ço est uns des plus leiaus ki od vus seit tenuz. "
§ — " Par devers Everwic cument funt les baruns?
E ceus d'Estutevile tienent-il lur meisuns? "
— " Certes, sire, s'il vus plaist, très bien le savums,
De ceus d'Estutevile ne vindrent traïsuns. "
— " E l'eslit de Nincole, cum est-il ès païs?
Set-il puint guerreier cuntre ses enemis? "
— " Il est, sire, veirement vostre charneus amis;
Asez ad chevaliers e bons serjanz marchis. "
— " Thomas le fiz Bernard e sis freres ausi

That Appleby has been taken all at once,
And the castle of Brough, which is not much worse.
"I have now from no part either aid or succour,
And I think well that the king will give me hard treatment."
And says Richard de Luci: "Now let him do the best,
Let him beware of becoming a deceiver for any thing;
But if he loves Henry his good lord,
For him must he endure trouble and grief.
I send him for my part greeting and love;
And news of the king, before fifteen days elapse,
He will have in England, if it pleases God the saviour."
When Robert heard that, the colour came to his face;
He who before was dejected, now is in joy.
Of Richard de Luci now hear the truth:
By the good sense which he has and his great loyalty,
His lord beyond the sea by his letters he has called;
The bishop of Winchester, as it was arranged,
He himself went there through very great friendship,
And said to king Henry: "May God save you!
England salutes you as its defender,
Lord Richard de Luci and all the other baronage
Who adhere to you; but hear the truth:
They are not ten, so may Lord God help me,
Who adhere to you in right loyalty."
Then asks the king: "What then does Richard
De Luci the loyal? Is he on my side?"
— "Yes, sire, indeed, he does not do things by halves;
But would rather let himself be tied with a wooden band."
— "And the earl of Arundel, how does he behave?
Does he side with me? does he war against us?"
— "Sire, by my faith! but he is your well-wisher
In all your need, in the foremost rank."
— "And Humphrey de Bohun, how has he behaved?
Against my enemies has he fought?"
— "Sire, by my faith! I wish to be believed in it,
He is one of the most loyal who has adhered to you."
— "Near York how behaved the barons?
And those of d'Estutevile do they keep their houses?"
— "Certainly, sire, if you please, we know it very well,
From those of Estutevile no treasons have come."
— "And the elected bishop of Lincoln, how is he in the country?
Can he not fight against his enemies?"
— "He is, sire, truly your cordial friend;
He has enough of chevaliers and good border-serjeants."
— "Thomas the son of Bernard and his brother also

Sunt auques suvent od Richart de Luci?"
— "Certes, sire, s'il vus plaist, il vus sunt mult ami,
E Rogier le Bigot ki unkes ne failli."
§ — "Kar me dites ore veir de ma terre la north:
Rogier d'Estutevile ad il fait nul alcort?"
— "Ainz i murrunt mil humes, sire, de male mort
Ke Rogier vus mesface ne à dreit ne à tort."
— "Randulf de Glanvile est-il en Richemunt,
E dan Robert de Vaus? Ces dous baruns que funt?"
Dunc geta li messages un suspir de parfunt;
E li reis li ad dit: "Ices suspirs dunt sunt?
Ad dunc Robert de Vaus faite traïsun?
Ad-il Carduil rendu? ne dites si veir nun?
— "Mès le tient noblement cume gentil barun.
De sun grant desturbier dreiz est que vus dium.
Li reis d'Escoce vint l'autr'ier par Carduil chevalchant
E dan Robert de Vaus durement maneçant,
Demanda-lui le chastel par itel cuvenant
Qu'il li durreit asez dunt il serreit manant;
E, s'il ço ne fait dès idunc en avant,
Tuz les frad afamer, li petit e li grant."
— "Par ma fei! ço dist li reis, ci ad bon cuvenant.
En poi d'ure Deu labure, ço dit li mendiant.
Ke fist dunc li Escot? asiega-il Karduil?"
— "Nenil, sire, si vus pleist, ainz fist greinur orguil;
Ainz ad pris Appelbi, dunt jo forment m'en duil,
E le chastel de Burc, bien acuintier vus voil."
— "Cument, cheles! dist li reis, est dunc Appelbi pris?"
— "Oïl, sire, veirement, e trestut le païs:
Ço ad mult esbaudi voz mortels enemis.
Tels se tindrent [od vus], ki se sunt à els pris.
Sire, pur Robert de Vaus sui-jo ci enveiez:
Ne li puet mès venir ne li vins ne li blez,
Ne devers Richemunt ne serra mès aidiez;
S'il n'ad hastif sucurs, tut serrad afamez.
Puis iert Northumberland del tut en tut guastez,
Odinel de Humfranvile enfin desheritez;
Le Noef-Chastel-sur-Tine serrad agraventez,
Willame de Vesci, ses terres e ses fiez:
Li Escot i curent par tut cume malfez."
— "Par Deu! ço dit li reis, ço serreit grant pitiez."
Dunc li lerment les oilz, parfunt ad suspirez:
"E cheles! que fait l'eveske de Dureaume?"
— "Il est trestut à un e li reis Willeaume."
— "Saint Thomas, dist li reis, guardez-mei mun reaume;

Are they rather often with Richard de Luci?"
— "Certainly, sire, if you please, they are very friendly to you,
And Roger le Bigod who never failed."
— "Now tell me the truth of my land of the north:
Roger d'Estutevile has he made any agreement?"
— "A thousand men would die there, sire, of bad death
Ere Roger d'Estutevile injure you either right or wrong."
— "Randolph de Glanvile is he at Richmond,
And lord Robert de Vaus? what are these two barons about?"
Then drew the messenger a profound sigh;
And the king said to him: "Wherefore are these sighs?
Has then Robert de Vaus committed treason?
Has he surrendered Carlisle? say nothing but truth."
— "But he keeps it nobly like a gentle baron.
Of his great trouble it is right we should tell you.
The king of Scotland came the other day by Carlisle prancing
And harshly threatening lord Robert de Vaus,
He asked him for the castle with this covenant
That he would give him enough wherewith he should be rich;
And if he did not do so thenceforth,
He would make them all die of starvation, the little and the great."
— "By my faith, so said the king, here is a good covenant.
In little time God works, so says the beggar.
What then did the Scot do? did he besiege Carlisle?"
— "By no means, sire, if you please, but he did a more daring thing;
For he has taken Appleby, for which I very much lament,
And the castle of Brough, I must well acquaint you."
— "How, my good fellow! said the king, is then Appleby taken?"
— "Yes, sire, indeed, and all the country:
That has greatly delighted your mortal enemies.
Some held [by you], who have joined them.
Sire, for Robert de Vaus I have been here sent:
Neither wine nor wheat can reach him any longer,
Nor from the side of Richmond will he be assisted more;
If he has not speedy succour, all will be starved.
Then will Northumberland be completely devastated,
Odinel de Humfranvile at length disinherited;
Newcastle-on-Tyne will be destroyed,
William de Vesci, his lands and his fees:
The Scots overrun it all like devils."
— "By God! so said the king, it would be a great pity."
Then his eyes shed tears, he sighed deeply:
— "Eh my good fellow! what does the bishop of Durham?"
— "He is all one with king William."
— "Saint Thomas, said the king, preserve me my kingdom;

A vus me rent cupable dunt li autre unt le blasme.
— Beaus sire, dist li reis, dites-mei verité,
Cument funt mes baruns de Lundres ma cité? "
— " Si m'aït Damne-Deu ki maint en Trinité,
La plus leale gent de tut vostre regné.
N'i ad nul en la vile ki seit de tel eé
Ki puisse porter armes, ne seit très bien armé;
Mar quiderez nient endreit d'eus nule malveistié.
Mès, sire, d'une rien ore seiez acuintié:
Gilebert de Munfichet sun chastel ad fermé,
E dit que les Clarreaus vers lui sunt alié. "
— " E Deus! ço dist li reis, ore en pernez pitié,
Guardez mes baruns de Lundres ma cité.
— Alez-ent, sire evesque, enz en vostre païs.
Si Deus santé me dune, e jo puisse estre vis,
Vus m'aurez à Lundres ainz vienge quinze dis,
E prendrai vengement de tuz mes enemis. "
Il fait mander sa gent, ses bons serjanz de pris
E cuntes e baruns, n'i ad un sul remis;
Roem lur ad cumandé, kar il sunt ses amis.
Li evesques repaire, cum jo ore ainz vus dis;
E Richart de Luci, qui unc ne fud esquis,
Les noveles le rei volentiers ad enquis:
" Sire, fait li evesques, jà s' est uns reis de pris:
Ne dute les Flamengs vaillant à un alis;
Nu fait-il, par ma fei! le rei de Saint-Denis.
Il quide si cunquerre trestuz ses enemis,
Ariver le verrez de ci qu'à quinze dis. "
Ore est Richart de Luci entrez en grant baudur,
Demande Robert de Vaus mar seit en esfréur:
Il aurad le succurs del bon rei sun seignur
Cume leal chevalier ki ad tenu s'onur.
Quant cel oïd Robert là sus en cele tur,
Il ne fud plus haitié unques mès à nul jor.
Li reis d'Escoce i vint dedenz meismes cel jor,
E demanda Carduil, la cité e la tur;
U il l'aurad à force, n'i aurad nul retur.
E dit Robert de Vaus: " Pur Deu le criatur!
Un terme me metez, si me nomez un jor:
Si sucurs ne me vient del rei mun seignur,
Rendrai-vus le chastel, si serrez cumandur. "
E dit li reis Willame: " Jo n'ai nule poür;
U vus n'aurez, jo'n sai bien la verrur. "
§ Ore vait li reis Willame tut dreit vers Odinel,
Suzprendre le voldrad pur aver le chastel;

I confess myself guilty to you for what others have the blame.
— Fair sir, said the king, tell me truth,
How do my barons of London my city?"
— "So may Lord God help me who remains in the trinity,
The most loyal people of all your kingdom.
There is none in the town who is of such an age
As to bear arms, who is not very well armed;
You would be wrong to think now any thing bad of them.
But, sire, now be acquainted with one thing:
Gilbert of Munfichet has fortified his castle,
And says that the men of Clare are allied to him."
— "O God! so said the king, now take pity on it,
Preserve my barons of London my city.
— "Go, lord bishop, into your country.
If God give me health and I may be living,
You will have me at London before fifteen days come,
And I will take vengeance on all my enemies."
He sends for his people, his good worthy serjeants
And earls and barons, there is not one left out;
He recommended Rouen to them, for they are his friends.
The bishop comes back, as I told you just now;
And Richard de Luci, who never was at a loss,
Has gladly asked news of the king:
"Sir, says the bishop, he is a worthy king:
He fears not the Flemings the value of a clove of garlick;
Nor does he, by my faith! the king of Saint-Denis.
He thinks he shall conquer his enemis so
That you will see him arrive in fifteen days from this."
Now is Richard de Luci in a great joy,
He informs Robert de Vaus he would be wrong to be afraid:
He will have succour from the good king his lord
Like loyal knight who has kept his honor.
When Robert heard that above there in the tower,
He never was more delighted at any time.
The king of Scotland came there in the very same day,
And asked for Carlisle, city and tower;
Or he will have it by force, there will be no retractation.
And said Robert de Vaus: "For God the creator!
Appoint me a term, and name me a day:
If succour does not come to me from the king my lord,
I will surrender you the castle, and you shall be the commander."
And said king William: "I have no fear of it;
You will have no succour, I know well the truth of it."
Now goes king William straight to Odinel,
He wanted to surprize him to get the castle;

Mès le chastel fud bien guarni de novel:
Ore serrad asiegié là dedenz Odinel,
C'o li mande li reis d'Escoce le cembel.
Odinel ot bone gent el chastel establi,
Ensi fait fermeté, unkes meillurs ne vi.
Il meismes senz cumpaignun par force s'en issi.
Ne voleient ses genz qu'il fust laienz huni;
Kar il saveient mult bien li reis iert mult hardi,
Envers lur seignur [ot] le cuer gros e marri;
E s'il puet le chastel prendre par ost bani,
Il n'avereit de Odinel en sa curt jà merci.
Odinel de sa gent mult dolent departi,
E il remistrent dedenz cum chevalier hardi.
§ Grant fu l'ost d'Escoce, la noise e le hu.
Des Flamens, de marchis le chastel fud assaillu;
E cil se defendirent par force e par vertu,
Ke des naffrez par defors tant furent abatu,
Jamès ne reverrunt parent qu'il unt éu.
E Odinel s'en vait seir Bauçan le kernu
Pur demander succurs que il fust succuru.
Itant erra-il Odinel sur le bon brun bauçant,
E jurz e de nuiz tut jorz espurunant,
Kar il ad purchacié la bone gent vaillant,
Quatre cent chevaliers od lur heaumes luisant.
Ces serrunt en l'estur oue lui cumbatant,
Il succurrunt Pruedhume od lur espiez trenchant.
Treis jorz dura le siege, par le mien escient:
Mult aveit Odinel là dedenz bone gent.
Encuntre les Flamens se defendent forment,
N'i perdirent dedenz, tant di que jo n'i ment,
Itant cum amuntast à un denier d'argent;
Mès lur champs unt perdu ot trestut lur furment,
Lur gardins estrepez de cele male gent;
E ki n'i pot plus mesfaire, si li vint en talent
D'escorcer les pumiers: co fud mal vengement.
§ Quant li reis Willame vit qu'il n'i pot espleitier,
Ne prendra le chastel par traire ne par lancier,
Si parlad en cunseil à sun bon cunseillier:
" Alum vers Audnewic, laissum icest ester.
Ne verrez de voz oilz cest premier meis passer,
Odinel le tendra à sun grant desturbier:
Jamès n'en partirum, si l'aurum tut premier.
Si laissum noz Escoz la marrine guaster,
Mar larrunt en estant ne maisun ne mustier;
Si larrum Gavelens del autre part aler,

But the castle was well provided afresh :
Now Odinel will be besieged within there,
For the king of Scotland sends him a challenge.
Odinel had good people established in the castle :
So he makes defence, never did I see better.
He himself without companions sallied out by force.
His people did not wish that he should be there disgraced ;
For they knew very well the king was very bold,
Towards their lord [he had] a heart swelling and angry ;
And if he could take the castle by (his) gathered host,
He would never have mercy on Odinel in his court.
Odinel departed very sorry from his people,
And they remained within like bold knights.
Great was the host of Scotland, the noise and the cry.
With Flemings (and) Border-men the castle was assaulted ;
And those within defended themselves with strength and valour,
For so many wounded outside were knocked down,
They will never see the relations which they had.
And Odinel goes off on Bauçan the hairy
To ask for succour that he might be relieved.
Then Odinel rode so much on the good brown bay,
Day and night always spurring,
That he gathered good valiant people,
Four hundred knights with their shining helmets.
They will be in the battle fighting with him,
They will succour Prudhoe with their sharp swords.
Three days lasted the siege, to my knowledge :
Odinel had many good men there within.
Against the Flemings they defend themselves bravely,
They did not lose within, I assure you I do no lie,
As much as amounted to a silver denier ;
But they lost their fields with all their corn,
(And) their gardens (were) ravaged by those bad people ;
And he who could not do more injury, took it into his head
To bark the apple-trees : it was bad vengeance.
When king William saw that he could not succeed
Nor take the castle by arrows nor by spears,
He spoke in private to his good counsellor :
" Let us go to Alnwick, let us leave this one alone.
You will not see with your eyes this first month elapse,
Before Odinel will hold it to his great trouble.
Never will we go from it until we have first had it.
Let us allow our Scots to waste the sea-coast,
Woe to them if they leave standing a house or a church ;
And we will allow the Galloway-men to go in another direction,

En la terres Odinel les humes tuer:
Nus irrums à Audnewic le chastel asiegier,
Si vendrunt noz dous ostz pur noz Franceis aidier;
Mès il aurunt anceis fait si grant desturbier,
Destruit est cest païs. Ore pensum del haster."
§ Co fud juesdi au seir ke li reis ad parlé,
É Franceis e Flamens unt le plait otrié.
Vendresdi par matin fud sun gredle suné:
Departi cel grant ost e sun ruiste barné,
E vienent à Andnewic, n'i unt plus demuré;
Mès les Escoz unt ars e lu païs guasté.
Le mustier Saint-Laurenz fud le jor violé,
Treis prestres el mustier par force escuillié,
E treis cenz humes morz, senz mot de fauseté;
Jamès ne verrunt parent ne lul de nul parenté.
E Odinel de Umfranvile ad si bien espleitié,
Tel succurs ad cunquis, si m'aït Damne-Dé,
Dunt li reis d'Escoce serrad el cuer iré;
Unkes parent qu'il eust ne fust si avilé.
Li reis iert à Audnewic od sa grant ost banie;
E Odinel chevalche à la fiere cumpaignie,
Willame d'Estutevile ki très bien le aïe,
E Randulf de Glanvile ne se relenti mie,
Dan Bernart de Baillou od s'espée furbie
Il ferad durement sur la gent d'Aubanie,
E Willame de Vesci n'i ubbliez-vus mie.
L'arcevesques d'Everwic lur livra l'establie,
Seisante chevaliers de sa chevalerie.
Al Noef-Chastel-sur-Tine, quant la nuit est serie,
Est venu Odinel ki's cunduist e ki's guie:
Co est la verité, quei que nuls vus en die.
Là oïrent novele de cel rei d'Aubanie,
Qu'il iert à Audnewic od meisnie escharie.
Od Flamens e od Franceis li Escot n'ierent mie,
Ainz ardent lu païs chascun d'els par atie.
S'il vus pleust à oïr bon fait de bone gent,
Jo l' vus dirrai de ces, par le mien escient.
Un cunseil en unt pris quel ferunt e cument,
S'il irrunt assaillir icest rei e sa gent.
Co respunt Odinel: "Huniz seit ki l' defent!
Jo i ferrai, si Deu plaist, trestut premierement:
Il m'ad fait mult granz mals, si'n ai le cuer dolent;
E si Deus nus dunast de prendre vengement,
Bien aurums espleitié, par le mien escient.
Alum les asaillir; e, se il nus atent,

To kill the men in Odinel's land :
We will go to Alnwick to besiege the castle,
And both our hosts shall come to help our Frenchmen;
But they will have first made so great a disturbance,
That this country will be destroyed. Now let us think of hasten-
It was thursday evening that the king spoke, [ing."
And Frenchmen and Flemings agreed to his words.
Friday in the morning his trumpet was sounded:
This great host departed and his fierce baronage,
And come to Alnwick, they did not delay longer ;
But the Scots burnt and wasted the country.
The church of Saint-Laurence was that day violated,
Three priests in the church (were) by force castrated,
And three hundred men murdered, without a word of falsehood;
Never will they see a relation or any of their kindred.
And Odinel de Umfranvile has so well managed,
Such succour has gained, so help me Lord God,
That the king will be enraged at heart ;
No relation that he had was ever so disgraced.
The king was at Alnwick with his great gathered host ;
And Odinel rides with the fierce company,
William d'Estutevile who helps him very much,
Aud Randolph de Glanvile is not backward,
Lord Bernard de Baliol with his forbished sword
Will lay hard upon the people of Albany,
And William de Vesci do not forget there.
The archbishop of York gave them lodgings,
(And) sixty knights of his chivalry.
To Newcastle-on-Tyne, when the night is advanced,
Is come Odinel who conducts and guides them :
That is the truth, whatever any body may say about it.
There they heard news of the king of Albany,
That he was at Alnwick vith a small suit.
With Flemings and Frenchmen the Scots were not,
But burn the country each of them at his best.
If it pleased you to hear good deed of good people,
I will tell you of this, by my own information.
They have consulted together what they should do and how,
If they should go and attack this king and his people.
Thus answers Odinel : "Shame to him that forbids it!
I will strike there, please God, all at first :
He has done me a very great harm, and my heart is grieved at it;
And if God allowed us to take vengeance,
We shall make a good job of it, by my knowledge.
Let us go and attack them ; and, if he waits for us,

Il en iert descunfit, e sun ost ensement."
Dist Bernard de Baillo: "Ki ore n'ad hardement
Ne deit aveir honur ne rien qu'à lui apent."
Dist Randulf de Glanvile: "Faimes-le sagement:
Enveiums un espie pur esmer la lur gent;
E nus vendrum après, se Deus le nus cunsent.
Quant les Escoz n'i sunt, nus ne's dutum neient."
Odinel fait mander tute sa mieldre gent,
Rogier le fiz Richart ad les suens ensement.
Ore unt pris les baruns chascun d'els hardement,
E vunt vers Audnewic la nuit serréement.
E puis le matin, quant le jorz s'esclarzie,
Li reis d'Escoce aveit sa teste bien guarnie
E cinc cenz chevaliers d'une cunestablie,
Ki tuit li vunt disant: "Mar creez cuardie.
Vostre est Northumberland, u qui'n plure u qui'n rie."
E dist li reis d'Escoce: "Nostre ost atendrum,
E puis à grant vertu le chastel assaudrum.
Pur le chaud qui est grant, seignurs, kar nus disnum."
E desarme sun chief, très bien le savum:
Nus faimes ceste estoire ki mentir ne volum.
§ Par devant le chastel fud li reis aresté;
Ses serjanz lui aportent dunt il se est disné.
E les noz chevaliers en un bruil sunt entré;
Là si unt lur espie, ki tut lur ad cunté.
Dit Randulf de Glanvile: "La merci Damne-Dé!
Ore pernez voz armes, mar serrez esmaié."
Dunc véissiez chevaliers vistement cuntenir,
Munter en lur chevaus e lur armes saisir;
N'i aura nul trestut qu'il ne's voissent ferir:
Co que l'un d'els volt, l'autre vint à plaisir.
Li reis d'Escoce fud pruz, merveillus e hardi,
Par devant Audnewic s'arestut desguarni.
Jo ne cunt mie fable cume cil qui ad oï,
Mès cum celui qui i fud, e jo meismes le vi.
Quant ces unt jà crié l'enseigne de Vedsci,
E "Glanvile, chevaliers!" e "Baillol!" autresi,
Odinel de Umfranvile relevad le suen cri,
E cil d'Estutevile, chevalier hardi.
Dunc sout li reis Guillame qu'il fud près traï;
Justement se cuntint, ne fud mie esbaï.
Li reis se fait armer tost e ignelement,
E muntad el cheval qui n'esteit mie lent,
E vait en cel estur par mult grant hardement.
Le premier qu'il feri, à terre le gravent.

He will be discomfited, and his host likewise."
Said Bernard de Baliol: "He who has no courage now
Can have no honor nor any thing which appertains to it."
Said Randolph de Glanvile: "Let us act prudently:
Let us send a spy to reckon their forces;
And we will come afterwards, if God allows us.
Since the Scots are not there, we do not care the least about them."
Odinel sends for all his best troops,
Roger the son of Richard has also (sent for) his.
Now have the barons each assumed courage,
And go to Alnwick by night closely.
And then in the morning, when the day dawned,
The king of Scotland had his head well armed
And five hundred chevaliers in a band,
Who all keep saying to him: "Beware of trust to cowardice.
Yours is Northumberland, whether they weep or laugh."
And said the king of Scotland: "We will wait for our host,
And then with great vigour we shall assault the castle.
Because of the heat which is great, lords, let us dine."
And he uncovers his head, very well we know it:
We who compose this history, do not wish to lie.
Before the castle the king had stopped;
His servants bring him what he has dined upon.
And our knights went into a copse;
There they have their spy who told them all.
Says Randolph de Glanvile: "Thank the Lord God!
Now take your arms, beware of being fearful."
Then might you see chevaliers quickly stirring,
Mounting on their horses and their arms seizing;
There will be no impediment to keep them from attacking them:
That which one of them wishes, pleased the other.
The king of Scotland was brave, wonderful and bold,
Before Alnwick he stood unarmed.
I do not relate a fable as one who has heard-say,
But as one who was there, and I myself saw it.
When these had once cried the war-signal of Vesci,
And "Glanvile, knights!" and "Baliol!" likewise,
Odinel de Humfreville raised a cry of his own,
And this of Estutevile, a bold knight.
Then knew king William that he was nearly betrayed;
Quickly he stirred himself, he was not disconcerted.
The king arms himself soon and hastily,
And mounted on a horse which was not slow,
And goes to the fight with very great boldness.
The first whom he struck, he knocks to the ground.

Li esturs fud mult fort del rei e de sa gent.
Tut s'en fust bien alez, par le mien escient,
Si ne fust un serjant qui vers lui se destent;
De la lance qu'il tint, sun cheval li purfent.
Ne fait à demander se li reis fud dolent:
Le pechié des Escoz li fait encumbrement.
Li reis chiet à la terre, e le cheval ferant.
Li reis e sun cheval à terre sunt andui,
Il ne pot relever, le cheval jut sur lui:
Ore ad asez travail e peines e ennui,
Quant garçon e escuier passent ultre lui;
Il orrad noveles, men escient, encui;
Ne purrad pru aidier sei-meismes ne autrui.
Grant fud la bataille e dure d'ambes parz;
Asez purriez veeir lancier e traire darz,
Cumbatre les hardiz e fuir les cuarz.
Des Flamens maleurez en fist l'um granz essarz,
Lur buele des cors traïner par ces praz;
Jamès en lur païs ne crierunt mès: Aras!
§ Li reis jut à la terre abatu, ço vus di;
Entre ses quisses giseit le cheval sur li;
Jamès n'en levera pur parent ne pur ami,
Se li chevaus n'en est traiz, dunt il est mal bailliz;
Il en iert tuz jorz avilé e huni.
Il esteit sempres pris, à mes dous oilz le vi,
A Randulf de Glanvile ù il puis se rendi;
E ses chevaliers sunt pris tut li plus hardi.
N'i aveit nul amur: tuit furent enemi.
Noz chevaliers de çà, unques meillurs ne vi,
N'aiment puint les Flamens, ke's orent puis traï;
Ainz les vunt ociant, ne sai que plus vus di.
§ Li reis se rent prisun à Randulf, veirement;
Il ne pot el faire, ke feist-il autrement?
E Randulf fud haitiez, quant il veit e entent
Que la guerre lu rei finie est veirement.
Engleterre est em pès, e cele bone gent;
Ne duterunt mès Escot: ne lur forfrunt neient.
Randulf de Glanvile ad le rei en baillie,
[E il se rendi à lui, e il bien l'otreie;
Ne fud issi haitiez à nul jur de sa vie.]
Il se fait desarmer, ne de rien ne se ubblie.
En un palefrei munta icel rei d'Aubanie;
Si l'enmeinent suef, quei que nul vus die.
Al Nuef-Chastel-sur-Tine pernent herbergerie,
E li autre sunt remis par lur chevalerie

The fight was very great of the king and his troops.
Every thing would have gone on well, to my knowledge,
Were it not for a serjeant who rushes up to him;
With the lance which he held, his horse he rips up.
You must not ask if the king was sorrowful:
The sin of the Scots is an encumbrance to him.
The king falls to the ground, and the grey horse.
The king and his horse are both on the ground,
He could not get up, the horse lay upon him:
Now he has enough of labour and trouble and vexations,
When servants and esquires pass by him;
He will hear news, to my knowledge, to day;
He cannot much help himself nor others.
Great was the battle and stubborn on both sides;
You might see darts enough thrown and arrows shot,
The bold fighting and the cowardly flying.
Of the unfortunate Flemings great carnage was made,
(You might see) their bowels dragged from the bodies through the fields;
Never in their country will they cry: Arras!
The king lay on the ground thrown down, as I tell you;
Between his legs lay the horse upon him;
Never will he rise from it for relation or friend,
If the horse is not drawn from him, with which he is encumbered;
He will always be humbled and disgraced.
He was soon taken, with my two eyes I saw it,
By Randolph de Glanvile to whom he then surrendered;
And all his boldest knights are taken.
There was no favour: all were enemies.
The knights on this side, never did I see better,
Love not the Flemings, who had then betrayed them;
But they keep killing them, I know not what more to say to you.
The king surrenders himself prisoner to Randolph, truly;
He could not do otherwise, what else could he do?
And Randolph was glad, when he sees and hears
That the war of the king is really finished.
England is at peace, and the good people
Will no longer dread the Scots: they will not injure them at all.
Randolph de Glanvile has the king in custody,
[And he surrendered to him, and he grants it readily;
He was not so delighted in any day of his life.]
He takes off his armour, and forgets nothing.
On a palfrey mounted this king of Albany;
So they led him gently, whatever may be said to you.
At Newcastle-on-Tyne they take lodgings,
And the others remained for their knights-service

E pernent chevaliers ceus devers Aubanie.
Ore est d'ambesdous parz bataille bien furnie.
§ Certes, mult le funt bien noz chevaliers reiaus,
E cil d'Aubanie furent mult bons vassaus;
Mès quant il orent perdu le plus de lur aveus,
Lur seignur naturel, qui ert amené de els,
Cil ne sunt mie tuz à lur rei leaus,
E il sunt à la terre abatuz des chevaus;
Enz en mi la bataille serrunt pris comunaus.
N'est merveille s'il unt doel e les lez e les baus.
§ Dan Rogier de Munbrai s'en est alé fuiant;
Il ad fait que curteis, que irreit-il atendant?
Tuit sunt ses enemis qui là sunt cumbatant;
E s'il le poent prendre, n'en aura jà guarant
Que li reis d'Engleterre en féist sun cumant.
E dan Adam de Porz, un barun mult vaillant,
S'en est alé od lui. Ore vunt espurunant.
Bien lur est avenu, Deus lur est mult guarant,
Qu'il n'i furent ateint de nul hume vivant.
Certes, si Adam de Porz ne fust tant avant,
Il eust le jor perdu le petit e le grant;
Mès Deus ne l' cunsenti, ki est reis poant:
Trop fust graut le damage, kar il est mult vaillant.
Ore vus dirrai les quels furent bien cumbatant
Par devant Audnewic, le chastel dunt jo chant:
Dan Alein de Lanceles, tant cum fud en estant,
Se defendi sur le destrier ferrant.
Il iert mult ancien, un chevalier mult grant,
N'aveit ainz justé bien trente anz passant;
Mès chevalier fud bon e de grant escient.
Si le rei l'eust séu, sun plait fust avenant.
Dan Alain si fud pris e retenu à tant;
Ore durra raançon, kar sun aveir est grant.
Vult le fist bien le jor Willame de Mortemer;
Il vait par mi ces rengs cum enragié senglier,
Dune grant colée e suvent prent sa per;
Il trovad cuntre lui un séur chevalier,
Dan Bernart de Baillo, dunt vus m'oez parler;
Il en ad abatu lui e sun destrier,
Si l' ad mis par fiance, cum l'um fait chevalier.
Bien le fait dan Bernart, ne fait pas à blasmer;
Al partir de la bataille le saurad l'um loer
Ki mielz i fiert d'espée e mielz fait caplier.
Raül le Rus fist bien, mès ne puet lung durer:
Plus de cent l'asaillirent tut pur lui encumbrer.

And take chevaliers those towards Albany.
Now the battle on both sides was well fought.
Certainly, our royal knights behave very well,
And those of Albany were very good vassals;
But when they had lost what they regarded most,
Their natural lord, who was brought by them,
These are not all loyal to their king,
And they are knocked to the ground from their horses;
In the midst of the battle they will be taken one and all.
It is no wonder if the gay and the cheerful are sorrowful.
Lord Roger de Mowbray went away flying;
He behaved courteously, what should he keep waiting for?
All are his enemies, who are there fighting;
And if they can take him, there will be no safe-guard
From the king of England executing his pleasure on him.
And lord Adam de Porz, a very valiant baron,
Went away with him. Now they go spurring on.
It was well for them, God is a great guard to them,
For they were not caught by any man alive.
Certainly, if Adam de Porz was not so advanced,
He would have lost that day the little and the great;
But God did not consent to it, who is a poverful king:
It would have been too great damage, for he is very valiant.
Now I will tell you who were fighting well
Before Alnwick, the castle of which I sing:
Lord Alan de Lanceles, as long as he was standing,
Defended himself on the grey horse.
He was very old, a very great knight,
He had not justed full thirty years;
But was a good knight and of great knowledge.
If the king had known it, his word would have been welcome.
Lord Alan was then taken and kept;
Now he must give ransom, for his property is great.
William de Mortimer behaved very well that day;
He goes among the ranks like a mad boar,
Gives great blows and often takes his share (of them);
He found opposed to him a true knight,
Lord Bernard de Baliol, of whom you hear me speak;
He knocked down him and his charger,
He put him on parole, as is done for a knight.
Lord Bernard does well, he is not to be blamed;
At the end of the battle he will be praised
Who strikes best with sword and best fights.
Raoul le Rus behaved well, but could not hold long:
More that one hundred attacked him to impede him completely.

Se il dunc se rendi, ne fait à merveillier;
Mar vit icele guerre: il la cumpara mult chier.
§ Certes, Richart Maluvel se cuntint fierement,
Asez i duna granz cops, e il asez en prent,
Tant cum fud à cheval ne s'espoenta nient;
Mult aveit bon cheval, bon sunt li guarnement,
E il hardiz e pruz, tant di que jo n'i ment.
Il fist à icel jor, par le mien escient,
Ki tredze cumpaignuns k'il aveient en present;
Mès il pert l'auferant: dunt il est mult dolent.
Il est feru par mi, si chiet hastivement:
Co est grant damage, kar mult en ert dolent.
É desus dan Richart s'arestut grant gent;
N'i ad celui ne die: " Rendé-us hastivement. "
Cil dunc se rendi par mult grant marrement;
Mar vit le rei Willame e sun fol hardement.
Ne vus puis acunter, trop serreit lungement,
Tuz ceus qui furent pris e menez à turment;
Mès bien vus voil acunter près de cent,
Ke Willame de Vesci rainst tut à sun talent.
E Bernart de Baillol e l'autre bone gent,
Waltier de Bolebec, Odinel ensement,
En orent des prisuns à lur departement.
§ Seignurs, ne vus esmerveilliez se il sunt descunfiz:
Li Escot unt le jor plus de mil mal bailliz,
E les fiz de lur peres la mort les ad partiz.
Ki véist la dolur, les plurs e les criz
Ke funt enz el mustier Saint-Lorenz ces chaitifs;
Les uns unt detrenchiz e les cors e les pis.
Les prestres curunez n'i furent guarantis:
Ne fait à demander si Deus en est marris
E si il ad le rei Willame enhaïz;
Pur le pechié de lui sunt plusur mal bailliz,
E il-meismes i fud cel jor descumfiz.
§ Par le mien escient, ore oiez verité:
Li reis d'Engleterre fud dunkes arivé,
E al matin à saint Thomas fud dunkes acordé.
Quant li reis des Escoz fud pris e amené,
Al Noef-Chastel-sur-Tine fud la nuit ostelé,
E Randulf de Glanvile l'en ad d'iloc mené.
Ore vient à Richemunt, ù il iert sujorné
Tant que li reis Henris en frad sa volenté.
[L]i reis iert veirement al martir saint Thomas,
U il se rendi cupable, pechiere e las,
E prist sa penitence, ne l' tenez pas à gas;

If then he surrendered, it is no wonder;
Unhappy man to have seen this war: he will pay very dear for it.
Certainly Richard Maluvel behaved himself gloriously,
He gave enough of great blows, and he takes enough,
As long as he was on horseback he feared nothing;
He had a very good horse, good are his equipments,
And himself bold and brave, so I say without any falsehood.
He did on that day, to my knowledge,
As much as thirteen followers then present with him;
But he loses the horse: for which he is very sorry.
It is struck in the middle, and falls immediately:
It is a great pity, for he will be very sorry for it.
And over lord Richard stood many people;
There was none that did not say: "Surrender directly."
He therefore surrendered himself with very great unwillingness;
Woe to him that he saw king William and his wild rashness.
I cannot tell you, it would be too long,
All those who were taken and led away with sorrow;
But I will count to you nearly a hundred,
Whom William de Vesci ransomed quite at his pleasure.
And Bernard de Baliol and the other good people,
Walter de Bolebec, Odinel likewise,
Had prisoners at their departure.
Lords, do not marvel if they are discomfited:
The Scots have this day more than a thousand wounded,
And death has parted the sons from their fathers.
One might see the grief, the tears and the cries
Which these wretches make in the monastery of Saint-Laurence;
Some have their bodies and breasts cut open.
The shorn priests were not spared there:
There is no occasion to ask if God is provoked at it
And if he detested king William (for it);
For his sin are many wounded,
And he himself was there on that day discomfited.
As far as I know, now hear the truth:
The king of England had then arrived,
And in the morning was then reconciled to saint Thomas.
When the king of the Scots was taken and brought,
At Newcastle-on-Tyne he was lodged at night,
And Randolph de Glanvile conducted him from thence.
Now he comes to Richmond, where he must sujorn
Until king Henry shall make known his pleasure.
The king was truly at saint Thomas the martyr's,
Where he confessed himself guilty, sinful and repentant,
And took his penance, do not consider it as a joke;

Il en prist le cungié, demurer n'i volt pas;
A Lundres volt aler, ù il out bon talent,
Pur veeir sa cité e sa bone gent.
Pur la guerre d'Escoce en ont le cuer dolent,
Il duterent mult le rei, si'n ad grant marrement;
Mès il orrad tut el hastivement:
Trestuz ses enemiz unt pris dechaiement.
§ Quant les noveles à Lundres oïrent del rei,
Chascun s'aparailla richement endreit sei;
Des riches dras de seie sunt vestu à desrei,
N'i ad nul n'i ait un amblant palefrei;
E issent de la vile od merveillus cunrei.
Cil deit bien estre reis qui tels genz ad suz sei.
Certes, dan Henri le Blunt fud trestut le premier
Ki alad en avant pur sun seignur baisier.
Une luée de terre péussiez bien aler,
Del rei de ses baruns tant dura l'acoler;
E li reis d'Engleterre les prent à mercier:
Leau gent sunt mult, ço lur dit au premier;
E els le mercient cum seignur dreiturier.
"Sire, ço dist Gervaise Suplest, laissiez ester.
Ne place Damne-Deu ki furmad terre e mer
Ke nul péust les Lundreis traïtres apeler!
Ne freient traïsun pur les menbres colper."
— "Certes, ço dit li reis, il se puent vanter;
E jo lur rendrai, s'il unt de mei mestier."
Issi cumveient le rei de si qu'à Westmustier.
§ Li Lundreis funt joie de la venue lur seignur,
Il li dunent presenz, si li funt grant honur;
Mès il esteit pensif e auques en errur
En pur le rei d'Escoce ki ert mis en folur,
E Rogier de Munbrai, un noble guerréur,
Ki destrueient sa terre par nuit e par jor.
Mès anceis que venist dreit ure culchéur,
Li vint tele novele dunt il out grant honur.
Li reis esteit entré en sa chambre demeine
Quant le message vint; suffert ot mult grant peine;
Il n'ot beu ne mangié treis jorz de la semeine,
Ne sumeillié del oil pur la novele certeine;
Mès de jorz e de nuiz d'errer se peine:
Il ad fait mult que sage, il aurad bone estreine.
Li reis iert acuté e un poi sumeilla,
Un vadlet à ses piez ki suef les grata;
N'i out noise ne cri, ne nuls n'i parla,
Harpe ne viele nul d'ure n'i suna,

He took leave of it, he would not stay there;
He wished to go to London, where he had great desire (to go),
To see his town and his good people.
For the war of Scotland they have sorrowful hearts,
They feared much the king, and he is very sorry for it;
But he will soon hear quite differently:
All his enemies took flight.
When they heard news of the king at London,
Each equipped himself richly for his own part;
In rich stuffs of silk they were variously dressed,
There is none that has not an ambling palfrey;
And they issue from the town in a marvellous procession.
He ought to be a king truly who has such people under him.
Certainly, lord Henry le Blunt was the very first
Who went forward to kiss his lord.
You might have gone a league of land,
So long did the embracing of the king and his barons last;
And the king of England begins to thank them:
They are very loyal subjects, so he says to them at first;
And they thank him as their liege lord.
"Sire, so said Gervase Suplest, let it be.
Let it not please Lord God who made land and sea
That any one should call the Londoners traitors!
They would not commit treason if their limbs were cut off."
— "Certainly, so says the king, they may boast;
And I will requite them, if they have need of me."
Thus they accompany the king to Westminster.
The Londoners rejoice at the arrival of their lord,
They give him presents and they pay him great honor;
But he was pensive and somewhat distracted
For the king of Scotland who was raging,
And Roger de Mowbray, a noble warrior,
Who were destroying his land by night and by day.
But before the right hour of sleeping came,
There reached him such news as gave him great honor.
The king had gone into his own room
When the messenger came; he had undergone much trouble:
He had neither drunk nor caten three days in the week,
Nor closed his eyes on account of the certain news;
But day and night he wearies himself in travelling:
He did very well, he will have a handsome present.
The king was leaning on his elbow and sleeping a little,
A servant (was) at his feet who scratched them gently;
There was no noise nor cry, and nobody spoke there,
No harp nor violin was heard there at that hour,

Quant li mès vint al us e suef apela.
E dit li chamberlens : " Ki estes-vus là ? "
— " Messagier sui, amis ; or venez plus en çà.
Dan Randulf de Glanvile desque ci m'enveia
Pur parler oue le rei, kar grant mestier en a. "
§ E dit li chamberlens : " Par matin seit l'afaire. "
— " Par ma fei ! dist li mès, ainz i parlerai en eire.
Mun seignur ad el cuer e dolur e cuntraire :
Si me laissiez entrer, chamberleng debonaire. "
E dit li chamberlens : " Ne l' osereie pas faire.
Li reis est endormiz : ariere vus estut traire. "
A ço qu'il parolent s'est li reis esveilliez,
E oïd à cel us crier : " Ovrez ! ovrez ! "
— " Ki est ço, dist li reis, à dire me sachiez. "
— " Sire, dist li chamberlens, ore endreit le saurez.
Message est de çà nort, très bien le cunuissiez,
Hume Randulf de Glanvile ; Brien est apelez. "
— " Par ma fei ! dist li reis, ore sui mult trespensez :
Il ad mestier d'aïe, çaenz venir le laissiez. "
Li messagier entrad, ki mult fud enseigniez,
E salua le rei, cum jà oïr purrez :
" Sire rei, Deu vus salt qui maint en Trinitez,
Vostre cors en avant, e puis tuz voz privez ! "
— " Brien, dist li reis, queus noveles aportez ?
Est li reis d'Escoce en Richemunt entrez ?
Le Nuef-Chastel-sur-Tine saisi, les fermetez ?
Odinel de Umfranvile est pris u dechaciez,
E trestuz mes baruns de lur terres ostez ?
Messagier, par ta fei ! di-mei veritez.
Malement m'unt servi, s'ore ne seient vengiez. "
— " Sire, ço dist li mès, un petit m'entendez.
Voz baruns de cest nort [sunt] bone gent asez.
De la part mun seignur bonement m'entendez.
Il vus mande par mei saluz e amistiez,
E ma dame mult plus, que vus bien cunuissiez.
Il vus mande par mei mar vus remuez.
Li reis d'Escoce est pris e tut sis barnez. "
E dit li reis Henris : " Dites-vus veritez ? "
— " Oïl, sire, veir, par matin le saurez :
L'arcevesques d'Everwic, uns sages hum lettrez,
Vus enveiera dous messages privez ;
Mès jo mui premerein, ki soi les veritez.
N'en ai guaires dormi quatre jorz sunt passez,
Ne mangié ne béu, si suis mult afamez ;
Mès, la vostre merci, gueredun m'en rendez. "

When the messenger came to the door and softly called.
And says the chamberlain : " Who are you there?
— " A messenger am I, friend; now come nearer.
Lord Randolph de Glanvile sent me here
To speak with the king, for he has great need of it. "
And said the chamberlain : " In the morning let it be done. "
— " By my faith ! said the messenger, but I must speak to him instantly.
My lord has in his heart grief and vexation :
So allow me to enter, kind chamberlain. "
And says the chamberlain : " I dare not do it.
The king is asleep : you must withdraw. "
While thus they speak the king awoke,
And heard a crying at the door : " Open ! open ! "
— " Who is there, said the king, you must tell me. "
— " Sire, said the chamberlain, you shall know it directly.
It is a messenger from the north, you know him very well :
A man of Randolph de Glanvile's; Brien is his name. "
— " By my faith ! said the king, now I am very thoughtful :
He wants help, let him come in ".
The messenger entered, who was well bred,
And saluted the king, as you may soon hear :
" Sire king, may God save you who dwells in Trinity,
Your body first, and then all your private friends ! "
— " Brien, said the king, what news do you bring?
Has the king of Scotland entered Richmond?
(Is) Newcastle-on-Tyne, the fortress, seized?
Is Odinel de Umfranvile taken or driven out,
And all my barons from their lands ejected?
Messenger, by thy faith, tell me the truth.
They have served me unfortunately, if they be not revenged. "
— " Sire, so said the messenger, hear me a little.
Your barons of the north [are] good folks enough.
On behalf of my lord hear me graciously.
He sends you by me greeting and friendship,
And my lady much more, with whom you are well acquainted.
He informs you by me there is no need of your stirring.
The king of Scotland is taken and all his baronage.
And says king Henry : " do you speak the truth? "
— " Yes, sire, indeed, you will know it in the morning :
The archbishop of York, a wise (and) learned man,
Will send you two private messengers;
But I moved first, who knew the truth.
I have scarcely slept these four last days,
Neither eaten nor drunk, so I am very hungry;
But, at your pleasure, give me a recompense for it. "

E respundi li reis : " Mar vus en duterez.
Si vus veir m'avez dit, riches estes asez.
Est li reis d'Escoce pris ? dites-mei veritez. "
— " Oïl, sire, par fei ! En croiz seie encroez,
U pendu à une hart, a arrs en un grant ré,
Si demein, ainz miedi, ne seit tut averré ! "
— " Dunc, dit li reis Henris, Deus en seit mercié,
E saint Thomas martyr e tuz les sainz Dé ! "
A tant est li message à sun ostel alé,
A mangier [e] à beivre en ad à grant plenté;
E li reis est si liez la nuit e si haitié
Qu'il vint as chevaliers, si's ad tuz esveillié :
" Baruns, esveilliez-vus. Bor vus fud anuitié.
Tele chose ai oïe dunt jo vus frai haitié :
Pris est li reis d'Escoce, ço m'ad l'em dit pur verté.
Ore ainz me vint novele, quant dui estre culchié. "
E dient ces chevaliers : " Ore merciez Damne-Dé;
Ore est la guerre finie, e en pès vostre regné. "
§ Mult semblat ceste nuit al rei Henri mult bele.
Lendemain, ainz nune, li revint novele
Del arcevesque d'Everwic que l'um Rogier apele,
Ki salue sun seignur ki les leiaus chaele.
Quant li reis vit les messages, unkes plus lié ne fu;
E veit qu'il dient un, si lur ad respundu :
" Er seir oi la nuvele quant fui mult irascu;
Cele qui la me porta, gueredun li ert rendu. "
Il ad saisi un bastuncel, à Brieu l'ad tendu,
Dis livrées de sa terre pur le travail qu'ot éu.
Ignelement prent ses messages, si's ad enveiez à Davi
Ki iert frere lu rei d'Escoce; unkes meillur ne vi.
Il esteit en Leircestre cum vassal pruz e hardi;
Mès unc ne fud si dolent, quant cest message oï.
Li reis li mande d'Engleterre que le plai est ore si,
N'i ad fors de rendre sei e de venir en sa merci.
Il ne saveit en tut le mund meillur cunseil Davi,
Fors de rendre le chastel e puis venir al rei Henri.
Seignurs, tut icest plait dedenz oit jorz fud si basti :
Pès ad li reis d'Engleterre, pris sunt tuit si enemi.
Ore cumande le rei d'Escoce hastivement à sei mener;
Kar li vint une novele, passer li estuet mer :
Roem est asise, sa cité; ne voldra plus demurer.
Il en meine David od lui, si vait envers la mer;
E Brien s'en est turné, ki n'ad cure de demurer;
E ad dit à sun seignur ignelement face amener
Le rei d'Escoce à Suhantune : li reis volt qu'il passe mer.

And answered the king : " You would be wrong to doubt it.
If you have told me the truth, you are rich enough.
Is the king of Scotland taken? tell me the truth. "
— " Yes, sire, by (my) faith! May I be nailed to a cross,
Or hanged by a rope, or burnt at a great stake,
If to-morrow, ere noon, it be not all confirmed! "
— " Then, says king Henry, God be thanked for it,
And saint Thomas the martyr and all the saints of God! "
Then the messenger went to his inn,
He has great plenty to eat and drink ;
And the king is so glad in the night and so delighted
That he went to the knights and awoke them all :
" Barons, awake, it is a good night for you.
I have heard such a thing as will make you glad :
The king of Scotland is taken, so I have been told for truth.
Just now the news came to me when I ought to have been in bed."
And say the knights : " Now thank the Lord God;
Now the war is finished, and your realm in peace. "
Very fine seemed this night to king Henry.
Next day, before noon, news came to him
From the archbishop of York whom they call Roger,
Who salutes his lord who leads the loyal.
When the king sees the messengers, never was he more glad ;
And sees that they say the same thing, so he answered them :
" Last night I heard the news when I was much displeased ;
To him who brought it me, reward shall be given. "
He seized a switch, and handed it to Brien,
Ten liveries of his land for the trouble he had.
Hastily he takes his messengers, and sent them to David
Who was brother of the king of Scotland; never did I see a bet-
He was at Leicester as vassal brave and bold ; [ter (man).]
But he never was so sorrowful, as when he heard that message.
The king of England informs him the circumstances are such,
There is nothing but to surrender and to ask for his mercy.
He knew not in all the world better advice for David,
But surrendering the castle and then coming to king Henry.
Lords, all this business was done thus in eight days :
The king of England has peace, all his enemies are taken.
Now he orders the king of Scotland to be led to him quickly;
For news came to him, that he must cross the sea :
His city of Rouen is besieged ; he would not stay longer.
He takes David away with him, and goes to the sea ;
And Brien returned, who has no mind to stay ;
And he said to his lord that he must immediately bring [pass the sea.
The king of Scotland to Southampton : the king desires he should

Henri le rei, le fiz Mahalt, à bon ure fust-il né !
Il atent à Suhantune vent e tens e bon oré;
E dan Randulf de Glanvile ad d'errer espleitié,
Le rei d'Escoce en meine od lui, ki mult ad cuer iré.
Randulf de Glanvile e li reis d'Aubanie
Se hastent pur ateindre le rei e sa navie.
Li reis aveit bon ore, si ne's atendi mie;
Quant vindrent à Hantune, si fud en Normendie.
Jo vus dirrai la verité, quei que nuls vus en die.
Li reis aveit cumandé sur menbre e sur vie
Randulf de Glanvile, ki l'aveit en baillie,
Qu'il passast en haste, si ne tarjast mie.
Li reis est venuz à Roem, quant l'aube s'esclarzie.
Ainz que venist le vespre, fud la pès establie;
E li reis vait en France od sa grant ost banie,
Si en est alé en France. La guerre est ore fenie.

FIN DE LA CHRONIQUE.

Henry the king, the son of Matilda, in a lucky hour may he have been [born!
He waits at Southampton for wind and weather and a good
And lord Randolph de Glanvile makes haste to travel, [breeze;
He brings with him the king of Scotland, who has a very sorrowful [heart.
Randolph de Glanvile and the king of Albany
Hasten to reach the king and his fleet.
The king had a good breeze, so he did not wait for them;
When they came to Southampton, he was in Normandy.
I will tell you the truth, whatever any body may tell you.
The king had commanded on limb and life
Randolph de Glanvile, who had him in custody,
That he should cross in haste, and should not tarry.
The king arrived at Rouen, when the dawn appeared.
Before the evening came, peace was established;
And the king came to France with his great gathered host,
And he has gone to France. The war is now finished.

END OF THE CHRONICLE.

VARIOUS READINGS

AND

OBSERVATIONS ON THE TEXT.

Page 2, line 1. *The first letter* O, *as may be seen by the fac-simile, has been left out by the illuminator.*—verraie.. Deus, *ms. Lincoln.*
— l. 3. T. me prist.. uns vers... je le.
— l. 4. que par.
— l. 5. De Engletere.
— l. 6. Al curunement.
— l. 7. Que le humage de ses... de Albanie.
— l. 13. Puis en vos.
— l. 14. puis *is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 16. breingne.
— l. 18. à *is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 19. n'en poiet.
— l. 22. Ne solt.
— l. 25. à celé,... de heire.
— l. 26. Saint-Deonis.
— l. 28. Mandé unt idunc Philippe le pugneire.
— l. 29. E le cunte de Buliugne.
— l. 30. unques.
Page 4, line 32. *This line is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 34. de E.
— l. 35. de dul ne rage.
— l. 38. Vos aliez.
— l. 41. Que ne puet.
— l. 42. serment.
— l. 44. Tebald.
— l. 45. ù fust.
— l. 46. Gentils reis de Seint-Deonis, el le.
— l. 47. Jeo.
— l. 49. enz *is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 50. jo crei.
— l. 51. sun age.
— l. 53. le heritage.
— l. 57. mustrer.
— l. 60. acorde.
— l. 63. les bones.
— l. 64. El le meis d'averil.
— l. 65. as merches.

Page 4, line 67. cumpainie dis mil.
— l. 70. *There is here a paragraph in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 72. *This line is to be found only in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 74 and 75. *The last parts of these two lines are in the stead of each other, in the Lincoln ms., where we read:* dublé, meint bon chival, *etc.*
Page 6, line 76. M. j. fete.
— l. 77. r. u c.
— l. 78. quor pensance.
— l. 80 and 81. *These two lines are wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 83. peust.. u de sa.
— l. 87. En dan.
— l. 90. ù plus ot sa fiance.
— l. 92. Ceo fu.
— l. 99. n'avera nul.
— l. 101. E Phelippe de Flandres.
— l. 102. Thebaud.... pothnei.
— l. 105. Leecestre, si.
— l. 106. Tankervile.
— l. 110. mei.. en est.
— l. 111. manaçant.
— l. 115. Oliver e Rolant.
— l. 116. Ce ne fud.
— l. 118. v. m., si en.
— l. 120. *There is here a new paragraph in the Lincoln ms.*— od sa gr. cumpainie.
Page 8, line 121. campaignie.
— l. 122. que une feiz se plaine.
— l. 123. remaignie.
— l. 126. Q. en oï.
— l. 129. ne fu si avilez.
— l. 130. Ele cors.
— l. 131. mult m'unt contrailliez.
— l. 132. ke.
— l. 135. que.... ceo d. s. chacez.
— l. 136. La t.
— l. 137. ceo siment.
— l. 138. Od la lunne sei à nuit achauveitez.
— l. 139. Q. F. e li altre.
— l. 141. Finiebus terre.
— l. 142. Meis Raüf de Feugere.
— l. 143. Heue.
— l. 144. Ne lerrai ki.
— l. 145. les poie.
— l. 147. bien e. par mult.
— l. 148. e. de g.
— l. 149. asaille.
— l. 154. *There is here a fresh paragraph in the Linc. ms.*—ses c.
— l. 155. les a.
— l. 157. les escuz. *Perhaps it would have been better to have put* the *instead of* these.
— l. 158. Deu clamer.
— l. 159. Mar m'averunt entre encuntré li traïtre has chemeis.
— l. 161. Poi meins de trente mile, plus.
— l. 162. N'ad celi que.

Page 8, line 163. e tute.
— l. 164. D. Dul.. tieu.
Page 10, line 166. plait à.
— l. 168. Brabeçun.
— l. 169. Normundie.
— l. 174. surjunere.
— l. 176. Ne receverent.
— l. 177. *There is here a new paragraph in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 179. saverad, vienge, s'il le.
— l. 180. *The two words between brackets are only in the L. ms.*
— l. 182. *This line is not to be found in the Durham ms.*
— l. 185. ore *is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 190. Humez.
— l. 192. trovera.
— l. 193. enchacez les seignurs.
— l. 194. nul n'i si pleinie. *The following line begins with a painted letter.*
— l. 196. Heue.
— l. 200. A Rom en Normundie.
— l. 202. Feugere.
— l. 205. *Here is a new paragraph in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 209. Ces ke.
Page 12, line 211. Ne n' orent pas v.
— l. 213. *There is here a new paragraph in the Lincoln ms.* — kar le me cunuisez.
— l. 216. ke li.
— l. 218. U ço.
— l. 224. ad duré.. assez.
— l. 226. failleiz.
— l. 227. Hue.
— l. 228. Feugere.
— l. 229. ses.
— l. 235. qu'il nus d., li paierum as.
— l. 238. e les senez.
— l. 240. Ne quida.
— l. 246. l'ensele.
— l. 249. *There is here a new paragraph in the Lincoln ms., marked by a painted letter.* ke les brefs.
— l. 251. passerent.
— l. 252. e le rei i.
— l. 254. ke.
Page 14, line 258. ke sui.
— l. 259. al quor.
— l. 260. de tant v.
— l. 262. si vaus, el le.
— l. 266. *Sic ms. Dun.* de la rive, *ms. Lincoln. I thought I ought to read* de là Tine, *and I translated accordingly.*
— l. 267. Averez.
— l. 271. Cels ke..... irrur.
— l. 276. Qui li... ke à.
— l. 277. en lur.
— l. 287. Kar vulier.
— l. 290. serment.
— l. 292. *There is here a new paragraph in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 293. ad oïe.

Page 14, line 294. que sun.
— l. 295. *Sic ms. Dun.* La t., *ms. Linc.*
— l. 296. Normundie.
— l. 298. Norhumberland.
— l. 300. Ne li dei. *This reading is by far the best: so I ought to have put in the translation* I owe, *instead of* he owes, *which makes the sentence quite unintelligible.*
Page 16, line 301. *Here begins a new paragraph in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 302. regnable.
— l. 306. P. si v. s. à cuite.
— l. 307. mustre.
— l. 308. Ke de fere.
— l. 309. huneisun.
— l. 310. Sa m., sun d. u sa destructiun.
— l. 316. Ki facent lur message.
— l. 317. *There is here a new paragraph in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 319. sunt bon, ke.
— l. 320. ne sujurnerent.
— l. 322. E de par.
— l. 323. Dolipene parla.
— l. 324. de Engleterre.
— l. 325. De par..... nuncier.
— l. 326. si le.
— l. 330. Ke f.
— l. 333. Ceo est Norhumberland qu'il quor.
— l. 334. reisun qu'il, *without* e.
— l. 335. ici en.., terme ne requier.
— l. 336. F. le dereitné.
— l. 340. entendement.
— l. 341. fra.
— l. 342. Ne quer.
Page 18, line 346. que m'envaït.
— l. 348. ferai.
— l. 350. p. m. succure.
— l. 355. Normundie.
— l. 359. *Sic ms. Dun.* nul, *ms. Linc.*
— l. 360. De la..... Orkanie.
— l. 362. qui pas n'en.
— l. 364. T. c. e ta poeste e tun gentil curage.
— l. 366. O. o. le.
— l. 367. Mult s'amerveille de v., c'al.
— l. 368. d'enfantel.
— l. 369. E celui ke plus.
— l. 370. Ne d.
— l. 373. fustifs.
— l. 376. ceo est sun.
— l. 378. C. vus tendrez c. f. u cum.
— l. 379. la gefne gent salvage.
— l. 382. tener terre de vostre.
— l. 383. En devez al fiz Mahaut servir cum en.
— l. 384. cuntraillie.
— l. 389. de cels ki aiment.
Page 20, line 393. uns, *ms. Dun.* vus, *L. Therefore, in the translation, it would have been better to put* and seek aid for you.

Page 20, line 394. ne le.
— l. 395. N'en averez, *L.* à *is wanting in this ms., and the following line begins with a painted letter.*
— l. 397. Jeo.
— l. 399. barette.
— l. 400. afier.. aticement.
— l. 401. aliene gent.
— l. 402. Se bien puit a., il guanierunt.
— l. 403. Ne perderunt.
— l. 405. T. n. ke.
— l. 407. Ne vus faudré... cum.
— l. 409. *Sic ms. Dun.* Albanie, *ms. Lincoln.*
— l. 412. û il s'afie.
— l. 413. Enveira ses m., ki.. dient.
— l. 418. Si nus.
— l. 419. *This second* par *is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 420. Jeo..... ke.
— l. 422. *Here begins a new paragraph in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 425. p. en
— l. 426. f. en.
— l. 430. *There is here a fresh paragraph in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 431. sus.
— l. 432. acoster.
— l. 433. *There is here in the Lincoln ms. a coloured letter, which begins a new paragraph, as usual.*
— l. 435. *Read* l'emperéur *for the sake of the measure.*
Page 22, line 437. Si cum.
— l. 440. *Sic ms. Dun.* membrée, *L. In the last ms. this line begins with a painted letter.*
— l. 443. Qu'il v. ert.
— l. 446. de fors chastels en.
— l. 449. N'averunt s. n'aïe d. t. luée.
— l. 450. *This line begins with a painted letter in the Linc. ms., as elsewhere when the rime changes.* issi m'est v.
— l. 452. einz que.
— l. 456. noz *is wanting in the Lincoln ms., and the last word there is* enselée.
— l. 464. memorie. *All the following rimes in* oire *in the Durham ms., are in* orie *in the Lincoln.*
— l. 465. ne David ke.
— l. 466. Que mult se glorifiad.
— l. 469. A Kaledene de gré.
— l. 470. Les greilles vindrent ki dunc furent.
— l. 471. Que puis l. u. de t. p. f. enchacez.
— l. 472. Murreve.
— l. 474. d'Aneguns.
— l. 479. que puis li fist cuntraire.
Page 24, line 482. u de.
— l. 485. durable.
— l. 486. E. le ost d'E., ki seit esteit aidable.
— l. 487. le c. ne ferad.
— l. 488. merviellie.
— l. 489. D. pri.
— l. 491. *This line is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 494. que.

Page 24, line 496. uidnez.
— l. 497. *The letter between brackets was left out by the illuminator.* — rei *is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 499. ore est.
— l. 501. *Sic ms. Dun.* sa, *ms. Linc.*
— l. 502. passa.
— l. 504. Norhumberland, *ms. Lincoln. So it is farther on.*
— l. 505. en vint.
— l. 507. mesné.
— l. 508. E dit à.
— l. 510. mès ki.
— l. 511. me dunez, bel sire.
— l. 512. Que jeo.
— l. 514. E dirai mun.
— l. 515. Si J. ne.
— l. 518. *Perhaps it would have been better to have written* travaillié.
— l. 519. N'i ad ki l'.
— l. 521. Fantome.
— l. 525. ke sun.
Page 26, line 528. Ki d.
— l. 530. D'a. li.
— l. 533. N'i ad qui l' c., ke devum.
— l. 534. Le evesque de Dureaume.
— l. 536. n'averum.
— l. 537. plendre la munte d'un.
— l. 538. se.
— l. 539. ke jeo ne puis amer.
— l. 540. Si le..... cuntre c.
— l. 544. S. guarnisun.
— l. 545. Werewrde, cel ruuil.
— l. 546. de Albanie.
— l. 547. Mès *is wanting in the Lincoln ms.* Vesci.
— l. 553. que n. d.
— l. 555. ceo.
— l. 557. Ke.
— l. 558. Parti li reis, ne.
— l. 562. Werkewrde.
— l. 563. tarier.
— l. 567. De N.
— l. 569. *Both the mss. have* rire; *but I rather think one ought to read* dire.
Page 28, line 577. que beste s.
— l. 578. ke de.
— l. 581. ne rendre pur ver lur.
— l. 585. *This line is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 586. perest.
— l. 587. sumus.
— l. 591. *This line and the three preceding ones are wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 592. Ceo...., sei-jo.
— l. 598. il s'afie.
— l. 599. *This line is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 601. e *is wanting in this ms.*
— l. 602. là *is likewise wanting in the same.*

Page 28, line 603. Tant cume cest chastel estoise, jà pès ne averums.
— l. 607. tel e.
— l. 613. bien le vus vulum.
Page 30, line 622. nel le.
— l. 623. puisset.
— l. 626. waites.. eschewaiter.
— l. 630. oue.
— l. 632. averunt.
— l. 636. Iscil ke sunt conséuz.
— l. 637. Ne cunterent.
— l. 638. d'E. adunkes g.
— l. 639. Ses enemis en.
— l. 641. cheriseit à molt cher.
— l. 650. *This line is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 652. troer.
— l. 653. estraer.
— l. 654. Ke.
— l. 658. avereit.
— l. 660. De.
Page 32, line 662. v. ferer de.
— l. 668. se Fantome.
— l. 671. avera.
— l. 673. unc *is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 674. *Sic ms. L.* vus, *id.*
— l. 676. Normundie.
— l. 677. Mahut.
— l. 679. hume *is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 681. grant, *likewise, is not to be found in the same.*
— l. 683. en *is wanting in this ms.*
— l. 686. *The word which is here between brackets, is only in the Lincoln ms. In the Durham ms. it is rubbed out.*
— l. 693. duné grant e.
— l. 695. averunt ke.
— l. 704. averunt.
— l. 705. qu'en.
Page 34, line 706. que avint.
— l. 708. Bel tens fu.
— l. 712. si s. bien le.
— l. 715. Li eschealwaiite de leez.
— l. 716. e ses privez drugun.
— l. 720. Cum il aveit véu la grant fierté.
— l. 721. e de la gent armé.
— l. 722. Ke.
— l. 724. ad voz ajusté.
— l. 725. nus, *ms. Dun.* del m., *ms. Linc.*
— l. 730. A Rokeburc.
— l. 739. sumus.
— l. 740. veé.
— l. 742. regneé.
— l. 746. ke.
Page 35, line 735. *The word* aduré *in the text, which means* hardened, *has been missed in the translation.*
Page 36, line 754. A Rokeburc.
— l. 755. ke.

Page 36, line 758. Sant ceo.
— l. 762. l'en sace.
— l. 765. e prie ke.
— l. 768. sun seignur à meintenir.
— l. 770. e. faire.
— l. 771. E chivalche.
— l. 772. Norhumberland qui jà fud.
— l. 775. f., del tuit a.
— l. 778. cumencie.
— l. 779. le grée.
— l. 780. de alques.
— l. 781. Par les prudes humes, *without* E. *I have written there* pruedhumes *without apostrophe, when, at l.* 879, *I have put* prud'hume. *The orthographical system falls be the same.*
— l. 782. Ke.
— l. 784. A ainz.
— l. 786. ke. *I translated accordingly.*
— l. 790. E od F.
— l. 792. de Luce.
Page 38, line 796. al quor.
— l. 799. Unfrei.
— l. 801. Umfrei.
— l. 803. Artrunt.
— l. 804. E un.. des.
— l. 807. Si.
— l. 808. *This line, which is evidently a repetition of l.* 801, *is not in the Lincoln ms. The mistake in the Durham ms. arose from the word* Bohun *ending the l.* 807.
— l. 809. Si n'en prengum, *without* A.
— l. 811. *All the following lines placed between brackets are a repetition of lines* 757, *etc., and they are wanting in the Lincoln ms. The cause of the transcriber's mistake is the same as above.*
— l. 815. Alums.
— l. 816. peès.
— l. 819. *Sic ms. Dun.* malbailli, *ms. Linc.*
— l. 820. Arwelle.
— l. 822. Donewiz.
— l. 824. eage.
— l. 827. Si il.
— l. 828. Si li.
— l. 829. Ne v. durrad la t., s'il n'ad al quor.
— l. 831. defrai l'ustrage.
— l. 834. *The word placed here between brackets is only in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 835. vers esté.
Page 40, line 841. Erwelle Suffoke.
— l. 843. hume de F. le veit siwant.
— l. 844. de Engleterre ot.
— l. 846. à ceus de Donewiz ke mult lur.
— l. 847. al cuntre, mult averunt.
— l. 848. ke.
— l. 850. A. se vendrent.. vers.
— l. 851. dire sovent en.

Page 40, line 856. Donewiz.
— l. 859. rendunt.
— l. 861. *Sic ms. Dun.* remandent ki erent, *ms. Linc.*
— l. 862. nus, *ms. Dun.* v. d. l'amunte, *ms. Linc.*
— l. 863. vis en terre.
— l. 864. Que.
— l. 865. vivere.
— l. 866. sa v.
— l. 872. Sallier.
— l. 878. Si cume.
— l. 879. purdume.
— l. 881. fud de mult.
— l. 882. Donewiz.
— l. 883. a. de v.
— l. 885. á r.
Page 42, line 886. del alba.
— l. 887. E manda.
— l. 889. Jeo m'en i. á Norwiz.
— l. 890. Pur ver.. quel.
— l. 895. Norwiz.
— l. 897. La *is wanting in the Lincoln ms.* ceo.
— l. 899. crueles.
— l. 903. Jurdan F. primerein.
— l. 904. serment.
— l. 906. livere.
— l. 907. recorder.
— l. 908. T. que la v. de ci qu'á Munpeller.
— l. 909. Norfauke dunt m'oez.
— l. 914. ceste guerre ne me.
— l. 917. en lui.
— l. 924. Que.
— l. 930. lur volt *is twice repeated in the Durham ms.*
Page 44, line 935. Q. unques pur nul.
— l. 938. ke vos volent en lalté.
— l. 940. renpentir.
— l. 941. Amer g. e. ne.
— l. 943. ceste secle cumenceit á defaillir.
— l. 947. Leircestre.
— l. 948. Norfouke, dunt m'oez.
— l. 952. de B.
— l. 953. Ferrers.
— l. 954. M. dust.
— l. 956. asséur pout.
— l. 958. li c. quels ço sunt qui.
— l. 961. ke t. j. f. guerrier.
— l. 964. de sens.
— l. 968. pensez c.
— l. 969 and 970. *Sic ms. Dun.* L. n'i aureit desturber, *ms. Linc.* *I translated this reading.*
— l. 971. de Everwic.
— l. 972. Par tute Everwikesire.
— l. 973. einz. *The Durham ms. has twice* nul.
Page 46, line 976. *Sic ms. Dun.* en l. atente, *ms. Linc.*
— l. 979. cele enprise.
— l. 981. Já Dampne-Deu ne place, ke.

Page 46, line 982. Unfrei.. lessez.
— l. 983. De Arundel ne p. s. gros.
— l. 984. bevadur, ne sevent osteer.
— l. 986. Gloecestre,
— l. 987. peer.
— l. 989. e. encumbrer.
— l. 993. esteiez.
— l. 994. estut.
— l. 995. Ainz les.
— l. 996. del errer.
— l. 997. Tost i p. oier e b. e h.
— l. 999. en ço.
— l. 1004. guerer.
— l. 1005. *This line is not to be found in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 1009. e de enfance.
— l. 1012. e fait porter.
— l. 1014. A Seint.
— l. 1017. Que p.
— l. 1019. medniée.. Edmund.
— l. 1020. Unfrei, *ms. Lincoln. Sic lower down.*
Page 48, line 1021. sevreance.
— l. 1022. *Sic ms. Dun.* Li quens de L., *ms. Linc.*
— l. 1025. nostre.
— l. 1027. Si suffrums la bataille mult dure e mult grant.
— l. 1028. Veez tant halmes cuntre le.
— l. 1029. *Sic ms. Dun.* cumant, *ms. Linc.*
— l. 1034. Edmund.
— l. 1035. de B., tut à.
— l. 1036. unke.
— l. 1037. cum F. destrure.
— l. 1038. Water.
— l. 1041. r., ke.
— l. 1045. serent.
— l. 1054. Ne dean H. de Cressi.
— l. 1055. puissent ferir à l.
— l. 1060. cuillent.
— l. 1062. ki tuz jurz art.
— l. 1063. *The second* la *is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 1064. par une.
Page 50, line 1068. joiera mie.
— l. 1070. veie.
— l. 1071. neie.
— l. 1077. I. vent.
— l. 1078. forment à e.
— l. 1081. en v., *without* **sun.**
— l. 1085. Cressi c. fait li.
— l. 1086. el le p.
— l. 1087. fuche.
— l. 1090. e *is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 1095. E il.
— l. 1097. Od la piere p. l. ne estuit fine.
— l. 1101. ne se asséure.
— l. 1103. bendie.
— l. 1104. K. unkes..... ne abéie.
— l. 1106. Ceo fud el meis d'averil, quant.

Page 50, line 1108. hume.
— l. 1109. tute Levenax sa fei lui ad plevie.
— l. 1110. H. en trestute sa vie.
Page 52, line 1112. le deuc de Normundie.
— l. 1114. halmes e bels.
— l. 1117. Ore.
— l. 1121. cum il f. apris.
— l. 1124. Notingham.
— l. 1125. Noramthune.
— l. 1127. Ne puet tensier ne rien d'eus.
— l. 1129. oier, jeo.
— l. 1136. dunt mult li.
— l. 1143. chanuinie.
— l. 1144. Ne noniein de abeie.
— l. 1148. jeo.
— l. 1150. De la quele p. le v.
— l. 1151. se aveit.
— l. 1152. *Above the word* Fantosme, *one may read in the Linc. ms.* auctor libri *written by a contemporary hand.*
— l. 1158. Baneburc.
Page 54, line 1160. Jà ne ferai.
— l. 1161. frad.
— l. 1162. Quar plust.
— l. 1165. l'albe esclazie.
— l. 1167. Beleford.
— l. 1170. lur bercherie.
— l. 1173. Jà puissieiz ver... qui les lient. *I translated according to this various reading.*
— l. 1174. E m. en l. cordes cume.
— l. 1175. à m.
— l. 1176. vesture.
— l. 1177. Vesci.
— l. 1180. ceo poise moi.
— l. 1181. fust.
— l. 1182. ke f.
— l. 1184. *Sic ms. Dun.* eussent, *ms. Linc.*
— l. 1186. revenent.
— l. 1187. Assez unt j. e m. de l. aveaus.
— l. 1188. des b. e des c.
— l. 1189. e de aignels.
— l. 1190. e d'anals.
— l. 1191. les c.
— l. 1192. guereieres.
— l. 1193. A Werc.
— l. 1194. e par a.
— l. 1196. arblastiers.
— l. 1200. ke unkes.
Page 56, line 1204. de un a.
— l. 1205. grant b.
— l. 1212. Ceus que.
— l. 1216. mult egres.
— l. 1218. penunçaus.
— l. 1219. del heriçun.
— l. 1220. altres en lur escuz.
— l. 1222. mès poi i.

Page 56, line 1223. de perdere.
— l. 1226. ke vus.
— l. 1227. frum.
— l. 1230. seates.
— l. 1234. e des.
— l. 1240. si sa.
— l. 1243. à quor.
Page 58, line 1246. jà depecera.
— l. 1247. la baillie.
— l. 1248. *The first letter marked in the side margin in the Durham ms. was omitted by the illuminator.* Oiez, s. de la p. cum, *ms. Lincoln.*
— l. 1254. *There is* liu *or* lui, *instead of* lur, *in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 1256. Willem, *ms, Lincoln. So lower down.*
— l. 1258. El cors.
— l. 1263. destance.
— l. 1264. E nel li.
— l. 1272. estre.
— l. 1273. ke nus.
— l. 1274. al quor.
— l. 1275. ad *is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 1277. al alba.
— l. 1281. returner.
— l. 1283. villir e despleer.
— l. 1284. Rocheburc.
— l. 1285. Dunc véistes ces mareschaus e vener.
— l. 1287. Par cele.
— l. 1289. De par.
— l. 1290. sunt.
Page 59, line 1285. *There is, indeed,* ces *in the text; but I think it would have been better translated by* the, *than by* these.
— l. 1286. unfolding *is the right translation of* despleier; *still the sense exacts* folding. *The Linc. ms. reads* espleier.
Page 60, line 1294. Ne abobed. *I translated accordingly.*
— l. 1297. esbanie vers Rokeburc.
— l. 1299. lessez.
— l. 1300. e. e h.
— l. 1301. trestuz.
— l. 1304. *The first letter was forgotten by the illuminator in the Durham ms.*
— l. 1305. E sa banie.
— l. 1307. jo ferai.
— l. 1311. regreter.
— l. 1313. al quor.
— l. 1319. Dunt li estuit doner.
— l. 1320. *The words* pur estre *are repeated in the Durham ms.*
— l. 1321. si faitement.
— l. 1322. averad uncore.
— l. 1323. al quor.
— l. 1324. serment.
— l. 1325. sa r.
— l. 1326. ke mult.
— l. 1327. enz neez.
— l. 1329. *The word* preier, *which is in the Lincoln ms., is repeated here.*

Page 60, line 1330. kar ço est le vere.
— l. 1331. que li fait.
— l. 1333. volt.
— l. 1335. A Kardul regeres.
Page 62, line 1337. dameage.
— l. 1342. ne s. mie.
— l. 1344. od sa gent esbanie.
— l. 1345. la forte.
— l. 1349. Ke u.
— l. 1350. jurnes, ne sa.
— l. 1351. ver C.
— l. 1352. turrels li s. esclazie.
— l. 1354. chascun.
— l. 1361. que iert.
— l. 1367. I n'averad.
— l. 1369. ceo.
— l. 1370. le chif.
— l. 1372. eissil.
— l. 1373. wnt.
— l. 1374. vint à R. de Waus.
— l. 1376. une espeie mult.
— l. 1380. k'alez-vus.
Page 64, line 1382. E dit lui.
— l. 1384. Laider.
— l. 1385. Dit R. de Vals, *without* e.
— l. 1388. que est.
— l. 1389. Vals, *ms. Lincoln. So lower down.*
— l. 1395. Ço lui m.
— l. 1397. ne d'enfantel hé.
— l. 1398. Ke vus ço.
— l. 1400. formeté.
— l. 1407. granter.
— l. 1414. liverer.
— l. 1417. *This line is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 1418. ke se r. t. cume.
— l. 1419. messager.
— l. 1420. Que est.
— l. 1424. Karduil.
— l. 1425. cum.
Page 66, line 1427. mès neint.
— l. 1428. Que me die de sa part: "Rendez-lui.
— l. 1429. e *is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 1430. E s'il ço ne ne volt.
— l. 1432. le vaillant.
— l. 1434. Karduil.
— l. 1435. Si en ad le covenant.
— l. 1440. en eit.
— l. 1441. quanque il.
— l. 1450. Einz, *without the word* E.
— l. 1451. Il ad el chastel vin.
— l. 1452. Si est.
— l. 1453. D. m'estuverad.
— l. 1454. Rien ne volt t. d'i. ke à.
— l. 1456. pur.
— l. 1457. E dist.

Page 66, line 1458. Rendez-le.
— l. 1459. ferad saver.
— l. 1461. *The* L *was omitted by the illuminator, in the Durham ms.*
— l. 1463. Apelbi, là 'ndreit.
— l. 1465. de Apelbi.
— l. 1467. Horin.
Page 68, line 1474. Que s.
— l. 1475. Apelbis.
— l. 1478. en le c.
— l. 1479. rise.
— l. 1480. Il ne l' queident mès perdre.
— l. 1484. plus de dis,
— l. 1489. *The word* e *is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 1490. durent.
— l. 1491. mettent *is not in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 1492 and 1493. *These two lines are wanting in the Durham ms.*
— l. 1494. nun f.
— l. 1497. ço.
— l. 1498. as quors.
— l. 1500. fez.
— l. 1503. cornels.
— l. 1504. Escoz.
— l. 1509. unques.
— l. 1511. s'il est.
— l. 1513. *This line is only in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 1515. ke.
— l. 1519. E sai que.
Page 70, line 1520. E *is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 1521. ne devenge boseur.
— l. 1525. quinze.
— l. 1529. La *is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 1532. Le evesque de Winecestre.
— l. 1534. selveiz seiez.
— l. 1536. Da, *ms. Dun.*
— l. 1537. Ke se.
— l. 1539. Ke tiengent.. endreit.
— l. 1543. de une.
— l. 1544. est-il.
— l. 1545. od mei.
— l. 1547. est el.
— l. 1548. cum est-il.
— l. 1549. cum s'et-il.
— l. 1550. jo voil.
— l. 1551. Ceo est un des leus ke.
— l. 1555. unc treisuns.
— l. 1556. Nichole, c. est-il el p.
Page 72, line 1563. que.
l. 1565. acort.
1569. de Vals, *ms. Lincoln. So lower down.*
ces.
le Vals fete nule.
[illegible]arduil.
[illegible]d.

Page 72, line 1582. fei ! dit li r., fei.
— l. 1586. me d.
— l. 1587. acunter.
— l. 1590. abaudi.
— l. 1591. od vus, ke.
— l. 1595. S'il n'i ad.
— l. 1597. Humfrenvile.
— l. 1603. Dureume.
— l. 1604. e le rei Willeme.
Page 74, line 1609. que m.
— l. 1610. lele g. de tute.
— l. 1611. ke.
— l. 1612. Que.
— l. 1613. de els m.
— l. 1614. de une.
— l. 1616. Clarels.
— l. 1617. quar en.
— l. 1618. Gardez-mei m. b. à.
— l. 1621. Vus m'averez.
— l. 1624. n'i ad nul r.
— l. 1625. Rom.
— l. 1626. oreinz.
— l. 1627. que unques.
— l. 1630. vaillant un.
— l. 1631. Ne fait, par ma f. ! le r. de Sent-Deonis.
— l. 1633. A Lundres le v. de ci que.
— l. 1636. Il averad.
— l. 1637. ki *is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 1638. Q. ço.
— l. 1641. Karduil.
— l. 1642. n'i averad.
— l. 1645. Si se s.
— l. 1648. Vus n'aurez nul succurs, jo. *I translated accordingly.*
Page 76, line 1652. Odenel.
— l. 1657. Ne voleit s. g. qu'il fuissent.
— l. 1658. saveit.
— l. 1659. *The word between brackets is only in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 1661. de Donel.
— l. 1662. Odenel.
— l. 1663. Cels r.
— l. 1667. K'ès navraez.
— l. 1669. sur B.
— l. 1671. Tant errad O.
— l. 1672. E de jur e de nuz tuz e.
— l. 1673. Ke il ad p. de la.
— l. 1674. od les halmes.
— l. 1675. Ces serrunt od lui en lur estur.
— l. 1676. le prodome od lur espeez.
— l. 1678. Odenel.
— l. 1680. dit.
— l. 1682. p. e t.
— l. 1692. J. ne.
— l. 1694. *The first* ne *is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 1695. Galvens.

Page 78, line 1696. terre.
— l. 1699. averunt.
— l. 1704. D. de cel.
— l. 1705. n'unt.
— l. 1707. Seint-Lauerenz.
— l. 1709. E *is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 1710. *Sic ms. Dun.* ne nul de lur, *ms. Linc.*
— l. 1711. E *is wanting in the Linc. ms.* d'Umfrenivile, *ibid.*
— l. 1713. al quor.
— l. 1716. E Odenel c. ot.
— l. 1717. ke.
— l. 1718. E Randulfe de Glamvile.
— l. 1719. Dean Bernard de Baillun od sa.
— l. 1722. de Everwic.
— l. 1727. d'Albani.
— l. 1732. Icil vus d. de ces, pa.
— l. 1733. Un c. unt p. ke là f.
— l. 1735. Odenel.
— l. 1739. Bien auriuns espleiteé.
— l. 1740. e, s'il nus.
Page 80, line 1742. Ballio.
— l. 1743. ki à.
— l. 1744. Glamvile.
— l. 1747. nus ne's ne's, *ms. Dun.*
— l. 1748. Odenel.
— l. 1752. E puis *are not in the Lincoln ms.* esclàrcie, *ibid.*
— l. 1755. Ke tuz.
— l. 1756. Norhumberland, que qu'en plurt ne qui.
— l. 1761. que m.
— l. 1763. s'est.
— l. 1765. ke tut.
— l. 1766. Glamvile.
— l. 1767. seez esmaé.
— l. 1769. saiser.
— l. 1770. N'i avera nul trestur.
— l. 1771. pleiser.
— l. 1774. k'ad.
— l. 1776. Vesci.
— l. 1777. E "Glamvile, c.," e "Bailliol".
— l. 1778. Odenel de Hunfrenvil.
— l. 1781. vistement. *I translated according to the various reading.*
— l. 1783. que.
Page 82, line 1791. le f.
— l. 1797. Il oret.
— l. 1799. durae d'amparz.
— l. 1800. Assez puessez ver.
— l. 1802. grant assarz.
— l. 1807. Jamès ne relevera.
— l. 1808. n'est t., d. il c. mal bailli.
— l. 1809. Il en ert.
— l. 1815. ki 's orent près.
— l. 1818. que fait-il.
— l. 1819. E Randolf.
— l. 1820. finé.

Page 82, line 1822. forferunt.
— l. 1824 and 1825. *These two lines are only in the Linc. ms.*
— l. 1830. pur lur.
— l. 1833. reals.
— l. 1834. furent bon vassals.
Page 84, line 1835. avals.
— l. 1836. Que est amené d'aus.
— l. 1837. E il ne s. m. t. à l. s. leals.
— l. 1838. de lur chivals.
— l. 1839. Einz — cumunals.
— l. 1840. balz.
— l. 1843. que là.
— l. 1844. ne aurad.
— l. 1845. n'en.
— l. 1846. Port.
— l. 1849. Que il ne.
— l. 1850. Port ne fud.
— l. 1857. Si se.
— l. 1858. un viel chivaler g.
— l. 1864. *The first letter of this line in the Durham ms. seems to have been drawn by a more modern hand in the blank left by the rubricator.* Mult, *ms. Lincoln.*
— l. 1865. regns cum un.
— l. 1866. D. grose.
— l. 1867. chualer.
— l. 1868. Baillol.
— l. 1871. à ublier.
— l. 1872. Al departir.
— l. 1873. Ke m. i f. de s'espée.
— l. 1875. tut *is not found in the Linc. ms.* il acumpera, *ibid.*
Page 86, line 1880. ne se poenta.
— l. 1881. si g.
— l. 1884. Que t. c. que il.
— l. 1886. mi le chief h.
— l. 1887. quar il ert mult.
— l. 1888. s'arestunt.
— l. 1889. ne li die: " Rendé-vus.
— l. 1890. E il d.
— l. 1897. Holebec, Odenel.
— l. 1903. Ki f.
— l. 1904. e les cors pris.
— l. 1905. n'i furent n'i furent, *ms. Dun.*
— l. 1906. N'i fet.
— l. 1909. icel.
— l. 1911. dunces.
— l. 1912. E al m. s. T. fud cel jur.
— l. 1913. d'Escoce.
— l. 1915. Glamvile.
— l. 1917. fera.
— l. 1918. *The* L *was omitted by the illuminator in the Durham ms.*
— l. 1919. culpable e.
Page 88, line 1923. Pur ver la cité e la.
— l. 1925. il dutent.
— l. 1927. dechacement.

Page 88, line 1928. Quant les Lundreis oïrent la venue li.
— l. 1932. de vile un.
— l. 1933. que.
— l. 1935. Que alast.
— l. 1936. Une liue.
— l. 1938. le p.
— l. 1939. Lele g.
— l. 1941. "S., ceo.
— l. 1945. il se poent bien.
— l. 1947. Il cunduit le.
— l. 1951. *The first* En *is not in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 1953. Que destruent.
— l. 1954. ure de.
— l. 1963. que.
— l. 1965. nuldur.
Page 90, line 1967. E dit a.
— l. 1968. ore.
— l. 1970. od le. grant *is wanting.*
— l. 1971. seez là, frere.
— l. 1973. el le quor d.
— l. 1975. oserai.
— l. 1977. que il.
— l. 1980. saverez.
— l. 1981. De cest north.
— l. 1982. Glamvile.
— l. 1985. ke mult.
— l. 1988. tut le voz.
— l. 1989. queles.
— l. 1992. Odonel d'Unfrenvile.
— l. 1993. E *is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 1997. *The word here between brackets is not in the Durham ms.*
— l. 1998. s. de primes.
— l. 1999. Il mande.
— l. 2002. barunez. *This line and the preceding are, in the Lincoln ms., in the stead of the two preceding ones.*
— l. 2004. O. s., certes, p. m. le saverés.
— l. 2005. *This line is wanting in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 2010. me r.
Page 92, line 2011. dutez.
— l. 2012. r. serrez a.
— l. 2015. un hart — ars — reé.
— l. 2017. merci.
— l. 2020. *The word between brackets, which was taken out, in the ms. Dun., by a worm hole, is only in the Lincoln ms.*
— l. 2024. oï.
— l. 2026. cele nuvele, quant jo.
— l. 2028. e em pès est.
— l. 2032. ke ses l.
— l. 2034. tuit un, à tant.
— l. 2035. oi-jo la n. quant jo fui.
— l. 2036. Celui que.
— l. 2037. e à B. le ad.

Page 92, line 2038. Dis liveres — qu'il ot.
— l. 2040. unques meillur guerreur.
— l. 2042. M. unques — icest.
— l. 2043. plait e. o. issi.
— l. 2045. icil Davi.
— l. 2047. S., trestuit cest.
— l. 2050. esteit.
— l. 2051. Rom.
— l. 2052. Il enmeinent David od lui, à tant si vait devers l. m.
— l. 2055. Suhamtune.
Page 94, line 2057. Sudhamtune.
— l. 2058. Glamvile del errer est.
— l. 2059. que mult ad le quor.
— l. 2060. Glamvile.
— l. 2061. attendre.
— l. 2062. si 's.
— l. 2063. Hamtune, il.
— l. 2066. *The remainder is wanting in the Lincoln ms., and the first hemistich of the following line is placed as a catch-word at the bottom of the page.*

NOTES.

Page 2, line 28. *Celui de Flandres, Felipe depuignaire.* This Philippe, son of Thierri d'Alsace and of Sybille d'Anjou, associated, as it was said, in the government of Flanders from the year 1157, count of Amiens and of Vermendois by virtue of his marriage, which took place, in the year 1155 (according to Meier), at Beauvais, with Isabella, sister and heir of count Raoul le Lépreux, succeded his father in 1168. He died of the plague at the siege of Acre 1st June, 1191, leaving no issue by his two wives. See, concerning him, *L'Art de vérifier les dates*, folio edit., vol. III, Paris, 1787, p. 11-13.

Line 29. *E Maheu de Buluine.* Matthew d'Alsace, younger brother of Thierri d'Alsace count of Flanders, became count of Boulogne by his marrying Mary, sister of William II, second son of king Stephen, and count of Boulogne. In the year 1169 or 1170, his wife having left him, to live in a monastery, he married Alienor, daughter of Raoul, count of Vermendois, and widow, first of Geffrey, count of Ostrevand, and then of William IV, count of Nevers. Matthew died July 25, 1173, of a wound received from a certain marquis on his way to Arques, in Normandy, according to Radulphus de Diceto[1]; but others say that he was mortally wounded at the siege of Driencourt[2]. He left, by his two wives, three daughters. See, concerning him, *L'Art de vérifier les dates*, vol. II, p. 764.

Page 4, line 31. *Li reis Lowis de France.* Louis VII, surnamed *the Young*, born in the year 1120, and consecrated at Reims, October 25, 1131, succeeded his father, Louis the Big, August 1st, 1137, being only about fifteen. He married, and afterwards repudiated, Alienor of Aquitaine, and then took to wife, at Orleans, Constance, daughter of Alphonse, king of Castille, and, after her death, Alice, daughter of Thibaut the Great,

[1] *Ymagines historiarum*, col. 571, l. 34, and col. 579, l. 39; *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. XIII, p. 192, C, and p. 196, D.

[2] *Guillielmi Neubrigensis Historia* (ed. Thoma Hearne, p. 201; *Rec. des Hist. des Gaules*, vol. XIII, p. 114, B); *Chronica Gervasii, monachi Dorobornensis* (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, col. 1426, l. 17; *Rec. des Hist. des Gaules*, vol. XIII, p. 137, D); *Benedictus abbas Petroburgensis*, ed. Thoma Hearne, p. 55, 56; *Rec. des Hist. des Gaules*, vol. XIII, p. 153, l. 5; *Roberti de Monte Appendix ad Sigibertum* (*Venerabilis Guiberti abbatis B. Mariæ de Novigento Opera*, p. 793; *Rec. des Hist. des Gaules*, vol. XIII, p. 316, E); *Genealogia comitum Flandriæ* (*Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum*, vol. III, p. 389, C, nº 16; *Rec. des Hist. des Gaules*, vol. XIII, p. 414, C); *Andreæ Marcianensis prioris Chronicon de regibus Francorum* (ed. D. Raphaele de Beauchamp, Duaci, 1633, 4º, p. 422; *Rec. des Hist. des Gaules*, vol. XIII, p. 422, C); *Gisleberti Montensis Hanoniæ Chronicon* (*Rec. des Hist. des Gaules*, vol. XIII, p. 567, D; p. 574, D); *Chronicon anonymi canonici Laudunensis* (*Rec. des Hist. des Gaules*, vol. XIII, p. 681, A).

earl of Champagne. Louis died at Paris, September 18, 1180, in his sixtieth year.

Line 44. *Li cuens Tiebaut de France.* The lord here mentioned is Thibaut V, surnamed *le Bon*, or *the Good*, second son of Thibaut the Great, seventh count of Blois and Chartres, and eighth count of Champagne, to whom he succeeded in 1152, in a part of his estates. He died in 1191, at the siege of Acre, after having been twice married. Thibaut is praised by John of Salisbury for his knowledge of the laws and customs of France. See, concerning him, *L'Art de vérifier les dates*, vol. II, p. 618-621.

Page 6, line 104. *Cupei.* This name probably ought to be *Capei*, and refers to the people of a place of Vermandois, which Gilbert of Mons calls *Capis*, and which then belonged to the count of Flanders. See the *Rec. des Hist. des Gaules*, vol. XIII, p. 566, E.

Line 105. *Li cuens de Leircestre.* Robert de Beaumont, surnamed *aux Blanches mains*, or *Blanchemaine*, was the third earl of Leicester. See, concerning him, *The Baronage of England* by W. Dugdale, vol. I, p. 87, col. 1, and the following; *The Peerage of Scotland* by Sir Robert Douglas, second edition by John Philip Wood, fol., Edinburgh... vol. I, p. 691; and *Historical and genealogical Memoirs of the House of Hamilton; with genealogical Memoirs of the several Branches of the Family*, by John Anderson. Edinburgh : MDCCCXXV, 4°, p. 19-22.

Line 106. *Icil de Tancarvile.* The noble here mentioned was William the Young (le Jeune), chamberlain of Tancarville, and son of Rabel. There is a memoir of him in the *Histoire du château et des sires de Tancarville*, par A. Deville. Rouen, Nicétas Periaux, M DCCC XXXIV, 8°, p. 124-129.

Page 8, line 142. *Raül de Feulgiere.* Raoul II, baron of Fougeres, succeeded, in 1154, his father Henri I, and died in the year 1196, on his way to a crusade, leaving four sons and four daughters by his two wives. See, concerning him, *L'Art de vérifier les dates*, vol. II, p. 897-899.

Line 143. *Li cuens Huge de Cestre.* Hugh, surnamed Keveliok or Cyvelioc, earl of Chester. See *The Baronage of England*, vol. I, p. 40, col. 2.

Line 148. We find nearly the same sentence in a contemporary poem :

> Boisdie e engin deit l'um feire
> Pur destruire sun adversaire.

(Wace's *Roman de Brut*, ms. of the cathedral library of Durham, fol. 3 recto, col. 2, last lines.)

Which passage stands thus in the manuscript preserved in the cathedral library, Lincoln :

> Boisdie e engin deit l'um treire
> Pur soun enemi mal faire.

(Ms. A. 8, folio 3 verso, col. 2, l. 5.)

> Miex valt engien que ne fait force.

(*Du Vilain qui conquist Paradis par plait*, mss. of the King's library, at Paris, n° 7218, and of St. Germain 1830; printed by Barbazan, and by Méon. See vol. IV, p. 119, l. 158.)

Line 157. *Ces escuz vianeis.* Shields of Vienne in Dauphiné [1], or of Poitou, where the river Vienne flows [2]. See, on this word, the glossarial index to *La Chanson de Roland*, p. 221, col. 1.

Line 165. *Willame de Humaz.* He was the son of, and successor to, Richard de Humet, who, in 1174 (the 21st of Henry II.), was a witness to the agreement which was intered into between William the Lion and Henri II. See, concerning William de Humet, Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 631, col. 2.

Page 12, line 255. *Al rei d'Escoce, Willame.* William, surnamed the *Lion*, brother of, and successor to, Malcolm IV, was crowned December 24, 1165 [3]. See, concerning this monarch, *Caledonia*... by George Chalmers, vol. I. London: printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1807, 4to, p. 628-634; *Annals of Scotland*... by Sir David Dalrymple (Lord Hailes). Edinburgh: printed by Balfour and Smellie. For J. Murray. M. DCC. LXXVI-LXXIX, 4to, vol. I, p. 111-142; and *L'Art de vérifier les dates*, vol. I, p. 843, col. 2.

Page 16, line 301. *Le cunte Donekan.* This name undoubtedly refers to Duncan II, earl of Fife, whose soldiers, in this war, committed so many cruelties at the siege of Warkworth. See *Benedictus abbas Petroburgensis*, sub anno 1174.

Duncan, sixth earl of Fife, justice-general of Scotland in the reign of William the Lion, was one of the Scotch noblemen who consented to the agreement gone into, at Falaise in Normandy, between this monarch and Henry II. He founded the convent of North-Berwick. Sir Robert Sibbald, in his *History ancient and modern of the Sheriffdoms of Fife and Kinross* [4], says that he married Ada, niece of king Malcolm IV; but Wood [5] considers this as being little probable. Duncan died in 1203, leaving three sons.

Line 305. *Mesprisun.* The real meaning of this word may be determined by the following passages, where it occurs:

> Atandez que monté soient no compaignon.
> Comment les laissiez-vos? jà est-ce *mesprison*.

(*La Chanson des Saxons*, vol. I, p. 259, st. CXL*.)

> Et commant as-tu non? dit Salorez le fier;
> Es-tu tant gentix hom que doies cest mestier
> Tenir sanz *mesprison*, sanz mon pris abaissier?

(*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 171, st. CCLXXXI, l. 7.)

> [1] Il remontait el destrier aragon;
> Vers la citeit s'en vait à esperon,
> Droitemant à *Viane*.

(*Roman de Gérard de Vienne*, in Bekker's *Der Roman von Fierabras Provenzalisch*... Berlin. Bei G. Reimer, 1829, 4°, p. XXVIII, c. 2, l. 1600.)

[2] Et puis passa l'aighe de *Viane* et entra en Poitau, etc. (*Histoire des Ducs de Normandie et des Rois d'Angleterre*, p. 109, l. 2.)

[3] *Chronica de Mailros*, ed. Jos. Stevenson, p. 80.

[4] Edinburgh: printed by James Watson, for the author. M.DCC.X, folio, p. 95; 2nd edition, Cupar-Fife: printed by and for R. Tullis, 1803, 8°, p. 228.

[5] *The Peerage of Scotland*, vol. I, p. 574, col. 1.

A tant evos descendu un gripon,
Qui fist Richier la grande *mesprison*,
Qui li tua son destrier aragon.

(*Roman d'Agolant*, l. 417. — *Der Roman von Fierabras Provenzalisch*, p. LVII.)

Page 18, line 349. *Sun frere, David, le mien parent.* David, brother to William the Lion, was, after him, earl of Huntingdon; he married Maud, or Matilda, daughter of Hugh Kevelioc, earl of Chester, who bore him three sons and four daughters. He died in 1219 (as is believed) at his manor of Yardley-Hastings. See, concerning him, Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 609, col. 2.

Line 364. *Tun cors.* The use of *body* to mean the whole individual, which we find again, p. 90, l. 1988, was common among the Greeks. So we read in Euripides' Hecuba, l. 716 (edit. Boissonade):

Ἀλλ' εἰσορῶ γὰρ τοῦδε δεσπότου δέμας
Ἀγαμέμνονος...

And in the Suppl., l. 891:

Πόλει παρασχεῖν σῶμα χρήσιμον θέλων.

In latin, *corpus* has the same meaning, as we may learn from Horatius's Ode to the Fortune:

O Diva gratum quæ regis Antium,
Præsens vel imo tollere de gradu
Mortale *corpus*, vel superbos
Vertere funeribus triumphos.

We read in the Romance of Ogier le Danois:

Dist l'amiraus: "Qui m'i poroit aler?"
Dist Karaeuz: "Ben le vos sai trover:
Mes *cors* méismes, se vos le comandés."

In the Romance of the four Sons of Aimon:

"Oncques en mon lignage traïtour ne regna,
Fors mon *corps* seulement, que aussy tray a
L'homme de tout le monde que plus de bien me fait a.
Ains mon *corps* ne fit plus, ne plus il n'en fera."
En une chambre vient, son chamberlin hucha:
"Bailliés-moi une corde, mon *corps* se pendera;
Et se tu me rencuses, le mien t'occira.
J'ay deservi le pendre, si que mon *corps* vouldra
Faire de moy justice de ce que meffait a;
Car je suis faus traïtres, si que mon *corps* moura;
Car je m'estrangleray en ceste chambre chà."

(*Der Roman von Fierabras Provenzalisch*, p. VII, l. 559.)

Sire, j'ai ma dame trahie
Por vostre *cors* le debonere.

(*De Constant Duhamel*, l. 468. — *Fabliaux et Contes des Poëtes françois*

des XII, XIII, XIV *et* XV^es^ *Siècles, tirés des meilleurs Auteurs* (by Etienne Barbazan), vol. II. A Amsterdam, chez Arkstée et Merkus. M DCC LVI, 12°, p. 227; Méon's edition, à Paris, chez B. Warée oncle, M DCC VIII, 8°, vol. III, p. 310, 311.)

And in another romance of the XIVth century:

A nul besoing ne sont faillant,
Ains vont pour lor *cors* avancier
A tous besoins au commencier.

(*Roman de Ham*, p. 226, l. 14.)

Or verra-on se vostre *cors*
Nous pora faire nul secours.

(*Ibid.*, p. 238, l. 17.)

We still say: *C'est un drôle de corps.*

It was not uncommon to see the person designed by one of the noblest parts of the body, by the foot [1], and chiefly by the head: "*Dardanium caput* (Virg.), *une tête bien chère* (French); sometimes, in Greek, by the eye ὄμμα. Oftener still, it is designed by the soul:

Li vergiers fu biax à devise,
Herbes y ot de maintes guise

[1] Pus si dit baldement: "Sire reis, kar muntez,
Si alum assaillir ces ki sunt arivez;
Il sunt malveisse gent, ne s'en irrunt *uns pez*.

(*Roman de Horn*, Douce's ms., preserved in the Bodleian library, folio 12 recto, col. 1, l. 15; ms. Harl. 527, folio 59 verso, col. 1, l. 10; ms. of the public library of the university of Cambridge Ff. 6. 17, folio 31 verso, l. 4.)

Trop sont li Sarrazin, Dex lor doint mal jornal!
S'estiens ausi dur comme cuivre et metal,
N'en estordroit *.i. pié*, ce est pechiez et mal.
(*La Chanson des Saxons*, vol. II, p. 151, l. 18.)

Aillours voist querre ki i aille,
Car de tous eus n'i a *.j. pié*
Que jà en ait elme lachié.

(*Li Romans des Aventures Fregus*, printed at Edinburgh for the Abbotsford Club, 4°, p. 220, l. 12.)

Itel eure, je l' vous plevis,
Se vous fuissiés avoec moi .x.
Trestout armé en ceste plache,
Jà dame-Dex bien ne me fache
Quant *uns seus piés* en escapast,
Que trestous ne vous afolast,
Car jà ne li fesissiés mal!
(*Idem*, p. 237, l. 3.)

Sed licet plures in fugiendo capti fuerint, licte insequuti sunt eos; quia nisi consensus consanguinitatis, qui se manifestat in articulo necessitatis, intervenisset, nec *pes unus* ex omnibus evasisset, quin per gulas universi caperentur. *Matth. Paris. Historia Major*, sub anno 1217. Londini, 1640, folio, p. 296, l. 39.

Que je ne sai mie nommer;
Mais je vos puis por voir conter
Qu'il y avoit roses et flors,
Qui getoient moult granz odors,
Et espices de tel maniere,
C'une *arme* gissant en litiere,
Qui malade fu et anferme,
S'en alast toute saine et ferme,
Por tant que el vergier géust,
Tant c'une nuit passée i fust,
Et de ses herbes fust garis.

(*Li Lais de l'Oiselet*, l. 29. — *Fabliaux et Contes des Poetes françois des* XII, XIII, XIV *et* XV^es^ *Siécles*. A Paris, chez Vincent, M DCC LVI, 12°, p. 180; Méon's edition, vol. III, p. 115.)

Qu'on ne laisse monter aucune *âme* là-haut.

(Racine's *Plaideurs*, act I, sc. VI.)

In English, the expressions some *body*, any *body*, busy *body*, prove that this use was not particular to the people mentioned above.

Line 385. *Engelram l'evesque.* This Engelram, who was bishop of Glasgow, is named as a witness in most of the charters of William the Lion, of whom he was chancellor. See the Appendix to *The History of North Durham*, folio, p. 8 and the following; *An historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, down to the Year* 1688: by the Right Rev. Robert Keith. Edinburgh: printed for Bell and Bradfute... 1824, 8°, p. 233; and *The Lives and Characters of the Officers of the Crown, and of the State in Scotland*... By George Crawfurd, Esq. vol. I (the only one that appeared). Edinburgh: Printed by Robert Fleming and Company... MDCCXXVI, folio, p. 8 and 9.

Line 386. *Le cunte Waldef.* He was earl of Dunbar. Mr. James Raine has published, p. 8 of the Appendix to his *History of North Durham*, several charters of William the Lion, in which he appears as a witness. At page 26 of the same work, we find two charters of this baron. We have seen some others of his, relating to the monastery of Melrose. "Waldeve, fourth earl, is the first of the family designed comes de Dunbar (Chronica de Mailros, ed. Stevenson, p. 92, A. D. 1182). Earl Waldeve was one of the hostages for the performance of the treaty for the release of William I. from captivity in 1174 (Fœdera, I, 39)... He died in 1182[1], leaving, by Alina, his countess, who died in 1179, two sons (*Caledonia*, II, 240)." Wood, Douglas's Peerage, vol. II, p. 167, 168.

This baron must not be confounded with Waldeve, son of Baudouin de Biger, who was taken with William in 1174, according to Roger de Hoveden (p. 539, l. 24), and whose memoir is in Wood's Peerage, vol. II, p. 628.

Page 20, line 405. This proverb, or rather the first part of it, is found in an anonymous song of the ms. of the King's Library, at Paris, fonds de Cangé n° 65, folio 139 verso, col. 2.

Page 22, line 463. *Le chastel de Werc en Engleterre.* This is a castle in Northumberland, of which there is an account in *A View of Northumberland*. By W. Hutchinson, vol. II, p. 1 and the following; and in the *Border Antiquities of England and Scotland*. By Walter Scott, vol. II, p. 121.

[1] *Chron. Mailr.*, ut supra.

Line 469. In the *Geographical Illustrations of Scottish History*. By David Macpherson. London: printed by T. Bensley, 1796, 4°, we find *Caldenlè*, as the name of the place where *Calden Waltyr* throws itself into the Tweed; and the map, which is referred to, points out this place as being in Selkirkshire.

Line 474. *Le cunte d'Anegus.* "Gilibrede, second earl of Angus... was one of the hostages for the performance of the disgraceful conditions entered into by King William the Lion, at Falaise, 1174, in order to obtain his release from imprisonment (Fœdera, I. 39. D). He is witness to a charter of that monarch 1176, and died about 1180. He married a daughter of Patrick, Earl of March, by whom he had six sons." *The Peerage of Scotland*, t. I, p. 62, col. 1.

Line 476. Though Fantosme says that there were many naked people in the Scotch army [1], still I think that the Scotch of this period were not more naked that the highlanders of the last century. Moreover it seems that the tartan, as still used in Scotland, was worn there as early as the reign of Henry II, as we may infer from the following lines, which belong to a poem of this epoch:

S'ot Guivrez fait .ij. robes faire,
Une d'ermine et l'autre vaire,
De ii. draps de soie dyvers;
L'une fu d'un osterin pers,
Et l'autre d'un bofu roié,
Qu'en presant li ot envoié
D'Escoce une soe cousine.

(*Roman d'Erec et d'Enide*, ms. of the Royal Library, at Paris, n° 7498/4. Cangé 26, folio 38 recto, c. 1, l. 4.)

Page 24, line 483. *Rogier d'Estutevile.* The name of this lord, who is not mentionned in Dugdale's Baronage, is to be found at the head of the chapters in the *Magnus Rotulus Pipæ. Northumberland*, from the year 1170 down to 1185 inclusive. See Hodgson, col. 15-38.

Page 26, line 534. *L'evesque de Durealme.* This bishop was named Hugues de Puscy, or Hugh Pudsey. See a memoir of him in the *History and Antiquities of the County palatine of Durham;* by William Hutchinson F. A. S., vol. 1. Newcastle, printed for Mr. Hodgson... MDCCLXXXV, 4°, p. 165-184; and the work published under the same title, folio, by Robert Surtees, vol. I. London: printed by and for Nichols... 1816, p. xxix-xxxi.

Line 538. *Audnewic.* Alnwick, a town in the county of Northumberland. There is an account of this place in *A View of Northumberland with an Excursion to the Abbey of Mailross in Scotland.* By W. Hutchinson anno 1776. Newcastle, printed by T. Saint, for W. Charnley and Mes^rs Vesey and Whitfield MDCCLXXVIII, 4°, vol. II, p. 193 and the following. See also *A descriptive and historical View of Alnwick, the County Town of Northumberland; and of Alnwick Castle*, etc. Second edition. Alnwick: printed and published by W. Davison, MDCCCXXII,

[1] To this passage we may add the following: "Vilis Scottus seminudus natibus pugnaturus occurrit." *Ethelredus Abbas Rievallis de Bello Standardii.* (Hist. Angl. Script. X, col. 340, l. 10.) "... Multitudinem infinitam Galwalensium, agilem, calvitie multa notabilem..." *Ymagines Historiarum Autore Radulfo de Diceto.* (Ibid., col. 573, l. 19.)

8°. At p. 61 and the following, there is the history of the siege of this place by king William the Lion.

Line 539. *Willame de Vesci*. See a memoir of this baron in Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 92, col. 1. He is named in many places of the *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, viz. p. 296, 307, 311, 325.

Line 545. *Werckewrde*. Warkworth, a town of Northumberland, of which W. Hutchinson wrote an account in his book quoted above. See vol. II, p. 257 and the following. There is another account of the castle of Warkworth, with three engraved views, in Sir Walter Scott's Border Antiquities, vol. I, p. 11-19.

In the *Illustrations of Sterne: with other Essays and Poems*. By John Ferriar, M. D. [1], there is an ode, intitled *A Northern Prospect*, in which we read the following lines relating to our subject:

Bold on the eye advance those tow'rs,
Where Percy boasts his princely bowers,
Crown the slope-hill, and awe the subject-vale;
In faded glory Warkworth's turrets rise [2], etc.
. . . . . .
See Alnwick tower in gothic pride;
The marsh exhale, the heath recede,
In graceful wave the ductile river glide;
'Tis liberal power's creative deed.
And far-conspicuous on the wat'ry waste,
Bambrough's huge rock the massy structures crown:
On the black vale when rolling vapours spread,
The turrets gleam high o'er the driving blast, etc.

At p. 221 of the same work, a note informs us that there are "monuments in the pleasure-grounds of the Duke of Northumberland, which commemorate the captivity of one king of Scotland, and the death of another, while they were besieging the castle of Alnwick."

Line 564. *Rogier le fiz Richart*. This baron is often mentioned in the Pipe Rolls of the 14th year of Henry the second's reign. See Hodgson's *Magnus Rotulus Pipæ*, p. xii, xiv, and in the latin text passim.

Line 570. *Od gent armée e nue*. See our observation on p. 22, l. 476.

Line 587. *Karduil*. This way of spelling *Carlisle* was not the only one used in England at the time. We find "Lugubaliam (quæ vulgo *Carleil* dicitur)" in William of Newbury's Chronicle, Jean Picard's edition, p. 74, l. I, ch. XXII; "Civitatem quæ Britannice Kairleu, Latine Legubalia vocatur [3]," in Florence of Worcester's *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, edition of M. DCI, p. 645, c. 36, l. 28; *Carliul*, in the Chronicle of the Counts of Anjou, by Thomas Pactius of Loches, formerly preserved in the library of St.-Victor, at Paris, and quoted by Picard, p. 706; *Caerliell*, in Henry

[1] Second edition. London: printed for Cadell and Davies; by J. and J. Haddock, Horse-Market, Warrington, 1812, 8°, vol. II, p. 219-222.

[2] Then did the Alne attention claim,
And Warkworth, proud of Percy's name.
(*Marmion*, cant. II, st. VIII.)

[3] The same passage may be read in Simeon of Durham, apud Twysden, col. 217, l. 57. Before we read there, col. 246, l. 60: "Civitatem antiquam quæ lingua Brittonum *Cairleil* dicitur, quæ nunc *Carleol* anglice, latine vero Lugubalia appellatur," etc.

de Knyghton's Chronicle, apud Twysden, col. 2385, l. 13, and in Ralph Higden's Polychronicon: *Carloil*, in Henry of Huntingdon, apud Savile, p. 385, l. 12, and p. 387, l. 18 and 22; "Quorum Luel quod nunc *Carleol* appellatur," in the History of Durham written by Simeon, apud Twysden, col. 13, l. 47; *Karleol*, in John of Hagustald's continuation of Simeon of Durham's Chronicle, apud Twysden, col. 257, l. 48, and col. 258, l. 50; *Karleul*, in Radulfus de Diceto's *Abbreviationes chronicorum*, apud Twyden, col. 490, l. 58; *Karlel*, in W. Thorn's Chronicle, ibid., col. 2007, l. 4; *Carlyl*, *Carlele* and *Carlelyl*, in Henry de Knyghton's *de Eventibus Angliæ*, ibid., col. 2480, l. 53, col. 2674, l. 38, and col. 2675, l. 43.

We read in J. Ingram's edition of the Saxon Chronicle, Appendix, p. 385, this note which fully refers to our subject:

"P. 305, l. 21, *for* Carleol read Carðeol, as in MS. Notwithstanding the British etymology of Caer-Leil, and the modern orthography of Carlisle, there is more authority for Carðeol than might be imagined. It is not only supported by the *Waverley Annals*, by *Ordericus Vitalis*, etc. but, which is more, we find CARDV. and CARDVL. on coins supposed to have been struck here in the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I. Vide Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage, etc.* vol. iii. p. 7. The same orthography is observable in the following distich, on the death of king David of Scotland, inserted in the chronicle of Melros, *apud* Gale, l. 598:

> "Postquam castellis regnum munivit et armis,
> Rex Carduillæ fertur obisse senex."

To this we may add these curious verses, by Marie de France, which M. de Roquefort has not understood, and which illustrate our subject:

> A *Carduel* sejurna li reis
> Artus, li prex e li curteis,
> Pur les Escos e pur les Piz
> Qui destruiseient mult le païs.

(*Lai de Lanval*, l. 5. — *Poésies de Marie de France*... A Paris, chez Chassériau, 1820, two volumes 8°, vol. I, p. 201).

Line 588. *Robert de Vaus*. This baron was sheriff of Cumberland in the 21st of Henry II. See, concerning him, Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 525, col. 2.

Line 591. *Aufin*. We do not find this word in any glossary; still it is not rare. One may see it in the *Histoire des Ducs de Normandie et des Rois d'Angleterre*, p. 108, l. 25 [1]; and in a note to Benoit's Chronicle of the Dukes of Normandy, t. II, p. 513, col. 2, l. 18; p. 516, col. 1, l. 3; col. 2, l. 14; p. 517, col. 2, l. 4 and 6. This word is spelt *aufin*, *onfin* and *ofin*.

Line 594. *Odinel*. Odinel de Humfranvile. See, concerning this baron, Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 504, col. 2; and chiefly *A History of Northumberland, in six Parts*. By John Hodgson, etc. Part II. vol. I. Newcastle upon Tyne: printed by Edw. Walker for J. B. Nichols, MDCCCXXVII, 4°, p. 10-12.

Line 596. *Li cuens Henri mun pere*. This earl Henry, William's father, was the only son of David I, king of Scotland, by his queen Matilda. He died in 1152, a year before his father.

Line 603. *Prudhume*. Prudhow, a village of Northumberland, four

[1] "Et si li manda avoec que bien seust-il que il ne voloit pas iestre *offins*," etc. A various reading gives *assis*.

miles east from Bywell. Its castle, which formerly belonged to the Humfranvilles, is now the property of the earl of Northumberland, whose eldest son assumes the title of lord Prudhoe. See an account, as well as two views, of it, in the *Border Antiquities of England and Scotland;* by Walter Scott. London : printed for Longman, etc., 1814-1817, vol. I, p. 89-92. See also Grose's Antiquities of England, t. IV, p. 137.

Page 32, line 665. *Le fiz Odart.* A "John the son of Wudard" is named in the Pipe Roll of the 14th of Henry II. See Hodgson's *Magnus Rotulus Pipæ,* p. xiv. In the latin text, we meet with "Odoardi Joannes filius" passim.

Page 34, line 723. *Cil de Luci.* Richard de Luci was chief-justice of England in the reign of Henry II, and baron of the Exchequer. See, concerning him, Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 562, 563; Madox's *History and Antiquities of the Exchequer of the Kings of England,* p. 24, 85 and passim; and *Formulare Anglicanum,* p. 44, note to the form. LXXVIII, and p. 179, form. CCXCI. At the end of his life, he gave up his dignities, and became a regular canon in his abbey of Leues, which he had founded on his estate, and richly endowed ; and where he died soon afterwards. See *Rogeri de Hoveden Annalium Pars posterior. Henricus secundus,* apud H. Savile, p. 590, l. 50.

Line 733. *Tiebaut de Balesgué.* The romance, to which Fantosme alludes here, was well known in England. In a certificate or memoir concerning some books found, in the third year of Edward I.'s reign, we find this mention of it: "Le Romaunce Willeame de Orenges et Tabaud de Arable." *Formulare Anglicanum,* p. 12, n° XXIII. A copy of it was bequeathed by Guy Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, to the abbey of Bordesley, in Worcestershire, May 1st, 34 Edward Ist or IIId. See our *Tristan,* vol. I, p. CXXI, l. 2.

Fantosme's allusion and the following lines, taken from a poem of the XIIth century, show its antiquity:

Mais une merveille veoit
Qui poist faire grant paor
Au plus hardi combateor
De toz ices que nos savons,
Se fust *Thiebauz li Esclavons*
Ou Opiniax ou Fernaguz, etc.

(*Le Roman d'Erec et d'Enide,* ms. of the Royal Library, n° 7498[4], Cangé 26, fol. 41 verso, col. 2, l. 26.)

Page 36, line 783. *Li sires Humfrei de Boün.* See, concerning this baron and his fees, Dugdale's Baronage, vol, I, p. 179, col. 2; Madox's *History of the Exchequer,* p. 28, 29 and 35; and *Liber Niger Scaccarii,* p. 109, 170 and 174.

Page 40, line 841. *Arivez en Sufolke la terre va tensant.* I have translated *tensant* by *protecting,* for it is the usual meaning of this word[1]; but

[1] See Roquefort's Glossaire de la Langue Romane, vol. II, p. 602, col. 1; p. 614, col. 2. To the two passages quoted there, we may add the following :

Jo ne vos pois *tenser* ne guarantir.
(*La Chanson de Roland,* p. 72, st. CXXXVIII, l. 14.)

Qant il voit que par force n'i porra demorer,
Ne que ne puet sa gent garantir ne *tanser,*
Des biax oilz de son chief commença à plorer.
(*La Chanson des Saxons,* vol. II, p. 120, l. 3.)

it seems that *tenser* means also *to plunder*, as we must infer from this passage and the following: " Puis envoia Looys le visconte de Meleun o grant chevalerie vers Saint-Edmont, por *tenser* la tierre... Chil fisent lor chevauchie, si barroiierent la ville de Saint-Edmont et gaagnierent moult proie par la tierre, et puis s'en repairierent á Londres."

Page 40, line 845. *Li cuens Huge Bigot.* Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk. See, concerning him, Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 132, col. 2.

Page 42, line 898. This line seems to be a proverb, as one may judge after the following quotations:

> Mès li vilains le dit en reprovier:
> "De traïson ne se puet nus garder."

(*La Batalie de Loquifer*, ms. 6985 of the Royal Library, at Paris, fol. 220 recto, col. 2, l. 19.)

> Mès li vilains le dit en reprovier:
> "De traïson ne se puet nus garder."

(*Le Moinage Renuar*, ms. 6985, fol. 244 verso, col. 2, l. 30.)

> Mais on le dit pieça en reprovier:
> "De traïson ne se puet nus gaitier."

(*Id.*, fol. 245 recto, col. 2, l. 5.)

> Voirs est que de trahison ne se puet nus garder.

(*Chronique de Normandie*, ms. of the Royal Library, Supplément François, nº 455, fol. 137 verso, col. 1, l. 4; edition printed for the Société de l'Histoire de France, p. 25, l. 16.)

Page 44, line 953. *E li cuens de Ferrieres, un simple chevalier.* See, on Robert, earl Ferrers, Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 219, col. 2; and *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, p. 218, where a Walkelinus de Ferrariis is also mentioned, as well as a Willelmus de Feriers, at p. 221.

Line 961. *Dan Rogier de Munbrai.* See, concerning this baron, Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 122. He is named in the *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, p. 213 and 309, for his fees of Northamptonshire and Yorkshire.

Page 46, line 983. *Le cunte d'Arandel.* This lord, named William de Albini, was the second of this name, and the first earl of Arundel of his family. See, concerning him, Dugdale's Baronage of England, vol. I, p. 118, col. 2 and the following; and *The History and Antiquities of the Castle and Town of Arundel;...* by the Rev. M. A. Tierney, F. S. A. London: G. and W. Nicol, Pall Mall. 1834, 2 vol. large 8º, vol. I, p. 169 and the following.

Line 984. *Ne se sevent oster.* We have translated *se oster* by *to array;* but perhaps *to fight* would have been better, as one may infer from the following quotations:

> En ceste tere ad asez *osteiet,*
> En France ad Ais s'en deit ben repairer.

(*La Chanson de Roland*, p. 2, st. III.)

Ço dist Marsilies : " Guenes, par veir sacez,
En talant ai que mult vos voeill amer ;
De Carlemagne vos voeill oïr parler.
Il est mult vielz, si ad sun tens uset ;
Men escient, dous cenz anz ad passet ;
Par tantes teres ad sun cors demened,
Tanz [cols] ad pris sur sun escut bucler,
Tanz riches reis cunduit à mendisted,
Quant ert-il mais recreanz d'*osteier* ?"

(*Id.*, p. 21, st. XXXIX.)

Od [oz] que li dux out jostées
Multz granz e mult desmesurées
Por aler essillier Bretons
Vers lui torcenos e felons
Qui ne l' deignoent sopleier,
Le mena od sei *osteier*.

(Benoît's Chronique des Ducs de Normandie, vol. III, p. 164.)

Line 986. *Li cuens de Glowcestre.* The earl of Gloucester at this time was named William. He had married Hawyse, daughter of Robert de Beaumont, surnamed the Bossu, earl of Leicester, and sister of Robert Blanchemaine; he died in 1173, and was buried at Chaynesham. See, concerning him, Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 535, col. 2 and the following.

Line 992. *Huge del Chastel.* William of Newbury says that this Hugh was a French nobleman. See Hearne's edition, p. 207. This assertion is confirmed by Benedictus Petroburgensis, who says: " Hugo de Castellis quidam nobilissimus baronum Franciæ [1], " and by Hoveden, whose words are: " Hugo de Castellis vir nobilis de regno Francorum. " H. Savile's collection, p. 536, l. 56. Robert de Thorigny adds that he was kinsman to the earl of Leicester: " Comes Robertus de Leecestria... et Hugo de Novo-Castello consobrinus ejus [2], " etc.

Line 998. *Puier.*

An sa tante s'an va Karles o le vis fier.
Cele nuit se reposent Alemant et Bavier,
Flamain et Borgoignon et Lombart et *Puier*.

(*La Chanson des Saxons*, vol. II, p. 43, l. 4.)

Herupois les nobiles, qi tant font à prisier,
L'avan-garde ont porprise sanz plus de delaier ;
Après vienent Borgoig, Lombart et li *Puillier*.

(*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 180, l. 15.)

Dont commencent gens à venir,
E les hostex penre et saisir
Boulenisien et Artisien,

[1] Ed. Thoma Hearne, vol. I, p. 70; *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. XIII, p. 157, C.

[2] *Venerabilis Guiberti abbatis B. Mariæ de Novigento Opera*, p. 794; *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. XIII, p. 317, D.

Brebençon et Vermendisien,
Flamenc et Normant et *Pouhier*,
Alemant, Thiois et Baivier.

(*Roman de la Manekine*, printed at Paris for the Bannatyne Club, p. 90, l. 2667.)

The *Pohiers* are mentioned in the *Roman de Rou* as having entered into the service of Richard I, duke of Normandy:

E souldoiers li vindrent à turbes chescun moiz,
Hanuiers e *Pohiers* e Breton e Englois.
(Vol. I, p. 259, l. 4883.)

They are also spoken of in the same, as being a part of the first corps of William the Bastard's army, at the battle of Hastings:

Li Boiloigneiz e li *Pohiers*
Aureiz e toz mes soldeiers.
(Vol. II, p. 199, l. 12793.)

See, on this name, du Cange's *Glossarium ad Scriptores mediæ et infimæ latinitatis*, v° POHERI, where he quotes a great many instances of this word, both in middle Latin and old French.

Poix, *Pisæ*, was a borough of France, in Picardy, in the département de la Somme, and previously in the bailliage of Amiens, some leagues distant from Aumale, on a small river, also named *Poix*, and which joins itself to the Celle. It was the capital town of a principality of which the inhabitants were called *Pohiers*.

Page 48, line 1035. *Rogier le Bigot*. See, concerning this personnage, Madox's History of the Exchequer, p. 29, 32, and 33. There is a discrepancy between Madox and Dugdale with regard to Roger Bygod or Bigod, the latter making Roger Bigod flourish under Richard I, the former making him earl of Norfolk and earl marshall of England under Henry II. Madox (p. 29, note *u*) gives a copy of the "certificatio de officio constabularii et marescalli Angliæ, etc.", in the preamble of which is mentioned "Rogerus le Bygod, comes Norfolciæ et marescallus Angliæ, etc." The date of this certificate is York 12 Dec. anno 27. Hen. II. (A. D. 1187). Dugdale says that Hugh Bigod went into the Holy Land with the earl of Flanders and died Ann. 1177, 23 Hen. II., adding, "Whereupon the king seised all his treasure and retained it in his hands. To this Hugh succeded Roger his son and heir, whom king Richard the first, by his charter dated at Westminster in the first year of his reign, did again constitute earl of Norfolk as fully as Hugh his father enjoyed that honor in the time of king Henry the second."—This Roger took part with the barons against king John, and was excommunicated by Pope Innocent III. He was succeded by his son Hugh. See Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 132, 133.

Line 1054. *Dan Huge de Creissi*. See, concerning this baron, Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 708; and Madox's *History of the Exchequer*, p. 64 and 65.

Line 1057. *Robert le fiz Bernart*. This Robert was, in 1172, intrusted by Henry II with the care of Waterford and Wexford in Ireland. See *Rogeri de Hoveden Annalium pars posterior*, p. 529, l. 1; and *Chronicon Johannis Brompton* (Hist. Angl. Script. X, col. 1079, l. 34.) In 1176, in a debate between the monks of St. Austin and the men of Thanet, which terminated at Canterbury before John de Kardyf, this officer is termed lieutenant of Robert Fitz-Bernard. See W. Thorn's chronicle (*Hist. Angl. Script. X*, col. 1827, l. 44).

Line 1063. *Là lur dirrad la messe li prestre saint Suart.*?

Page 50, line 1075. *Simun de Vahille.* See, concerning Simon de Vahull, Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 504, col. 1. This learned antiquary ascribes to Walter a part of the actions which belong to Simon II.

Line 1109. *Levenax.*

Reus fraudis Levenax est et Ricardus Lundi

(Song on the Scottish wars, l. 147. *The political Songs of England, from the Reign of John to that of Edward II. edited and translated by Thomas Wright, Esq.* London: printed for the Camden Society... M.DCC.XXXIX, 4°, p. 171.)

Lennox, an ancient district now partitioned between the counties of Stirling and Dumbarton. This name is spelt differently in three old Scotish poems:

Twa erlis alsua with him war;
Off *Levynax* and Atholl war thai.

(*The Bruce.* Buke secund, l. 40. See, for this name, Baxter, Glossar., p. 151; and Doctor John Jamieson's note to these lines, p. 428 of his edition of the Bruce.)

In the *Leynhouss* a quhyll he maid repair.

(*Wallace.* Buke aucht, l. 1595. Jamieson's edition, p. 228.)

My name es syr Gallerouñ, wt owttyñ any gyle;
The gretteste of Galowaye, of greves and of gyllis,
Of Konynge, of Carryke, of Conyngame, of Kylle,
Of Lomonde, of *Lenay*[1], of Lowthyane hillis.

(*The Awntyrs of Arthure,* st. XXIII, l. 404. *Syr Gawayne; a Collection of ancient Romance-Poems, by Scotish and English Authors, relating to that celebrated Knight of the Round Table...* By Sir Frederic Madden. London: printed by Richard and John E. Taylor, M. DCCC, XXXIX, 4°, p. 115.)

Page 52, line 1119. *Bertram de Verdun.* See, concerning this baron, Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 471, col 1; *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, p. 192; and Madox's *History of the Exchequer*, p. 64, 71, 87 and the following.

Page 54, line 1168. *Al chastel de Banesburc.* The castle of Bambrough in the county of Northumberland. See an account of it in Hutchinson's book already quoted, vol. II, p. 154 and the following, and in Sir Walter Scott's Border Antiquities, vol. 1, p. 51-55, which contains also three engraved views of this building. The same distinguished writer speaks thus of Bambrough castle in his Marmion, cant. II, st. VIII:

Thy tower, proud Bamborough, mark'd they there;
King Ida's castle, huge and square,
From its tall rock look grimly down,
And on the swelling ocean frown.....

Line 1167. *La vile de Belefort.* Beleford, a small town of Northumberland, which is mentioned, in a few lines, in W. Hutchinson's book already quoted, vol. II, p. 152, 153.

[1] Ms. Douce reads *Losex.*

Line 1186. *Berewic-sur-Tine.* As every one knows, this is a mistake. Berwick is on the Tweed, not on the Tyne, which passes by Newcastle.

Line 1190. *Nusches.* "Li dus les honnera moult: à l'un donna une épée.., et à l'autre une *nosshe* d'or[1]," etc. *Histoire des Ducs de Normandie et des Rois d'Angleterre,* p. 40, l. 1.

Mult i avoit chiers garnimens,
Chiers ators et chiers vestemens,
Rices bliax, rices mantiax,
Rices *nosques,* rices aniax.

(*Roman de Brut,* vol. II, p. 105.) See also in vol. II, p. 348, the Glossaire-Index, v° NOSQUES (nouches, noches).

A vostre femme enveierai dous *nusches;*
Bien i ad or, matices e jacunces.

(*Chanson de Roland ou de Roncevaux*... Paris, Silvestre, 1837, 8°, p. 25, st. XLIX.)

Poissas lur donet per lausenga
Eordas e frontals e frezells,
Noscas e fermals et anells
E botonetz plens de musquet
E d'autras joias qu'ieu no i met,
Qu'eron bellas e covinens.

(*Roman de Flamenca,* ms. of the public library of Carcassonne, n° 681, folio CIII verso, l. 27.)

"*Nasc,* a tie or band. *Nasc oir,* a gold chain. — *Madra naisc* a chained dog." (*Focalóir gaoidhilge-sax-bhéarla, or an Irish-English Dictionary,* etc. Paris, printed by Nicolas Francis Valleyre, for the Author. M DCC LXVIII, 4°.)

Du Cange, in his *Glossarium ad Scriptores mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis,* v^is^ NOSCA et NUSCA, quotes a great many passages, which it is

[1] "Richardus... honoravit secretius illos præcipue. Uni vero ensem..., alteri vero dedit *armillam*... purissimi auri fabricatam." *Dudonis S. Quintini decani de Moribus et Actis Normannorum lib. III* (Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores antiqui, ed. Andrea du Chesne, p. 139, A).

"... Uni ensem ex auro... dedit, alterum *armilla*... purissimi auri remuneravit." *Willelmi Gemmeticensis monachi Historiæ Normannorum liber IV* (Ibid., p. 245, C).

The following passages, one of which is the translation of the above, show that *armilles, bous,* and *nusches* were synonymous words:

Ses armilles, qu'om bous apele.....
Laissa en un chaisne penduz
Eisi que tuit les unt véuz.
(*Chronique des Ducs de Normandie,* by Benoît, vol. I, p. 341, l. 7418.)

Li dus, mais ce li est vis,
Que son pro volent e son bien;
Mercie les sor tote rien,
Tut belement en recelée
A à l'un d'eus doné s'espée.....
Al autre, si com nos lisom,
Refist de ses armilles don.
(*Ibid.,* vol. II, p. 186, l. 20784.)

useless to give here, and which prove that the word referred to was much used in the charters and the chronicles of the middle ages.

Tyrwhitt, in his glossary to the *Canterbury Tales*, v° NOUCHES, after having quoted du Cange and Schilter, adds: "It appears that *Nuschin, Teut.* signifies *fibula;* a *clasp* or buckle. As these were some of the most useful instruments of dress, they were probably some of the first that were ornamented with jewels." (*Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, vol. V, p. 172. London: Pickering, 1830, 5 vol. post 8°.)

Page 62, line 1340. *Dan Adam de Porz.* In Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 463, there is a long account of the Ports of Basing in Hampshire, whence it appears that Hugh de Port in the time of the Conqueror held 50 lordships in that county. He left two sons, Henry, who granted great part of his lordship of Sherburne to the monks of Saint-Vigor at Cerisy, Normandy, and Adam de Port, who confirmed such grant. Henry left a son John, temp. Hen. II., who also confirmed the grants to the monks of Saint-Vigor, then settled at Sherburne. John left *Adam de Port* and Hugh. Adam made several grants to Sherburne. In 26 Hen. II. he paid 1000 marks for the livery of his wife's inheritance in Normandy, *and for being restored to the king's favor.* In 6 Ric. I. he was with the army in Normandy. Afterwards he was accused of the death of Hen. II. and adjuged to forfeit his lands. We find him governor of Southampton, 15 John. His son took the name of Saint-John, and that of Port was lost. There was another baron named *Adam de Port*, of Herefordshire, temp. Hen. II., but not so distinguished. See Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 465.

Line 1361. *Wautier de Berkelai.* This baron is witness to two charters of William the Lion, published in Raine's History of North Durham, appendix, p. 8 and 9. The Berkeleys settled in Scotland in the twelfth century; they were a branch of the great family of this name, whose seat was in Gloucestershire (Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 349, col. 2). Walter de Berkeley was created chamberlain of Scotland in 1165, when Nicholas, his predecessor, was made chancellor (Crawfurd's Officers of State, vol. I, p. 253). See, concerning this branch and Walter, Chalmer's Caledonia, vol. I, p. 528.

Page 64, line 1402. *Hubert de Vaus.* See, concerning this baron, who was father to Robert de Vaux, Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 525.

Line 1405. *Mangun.* It is not very easy to determine the exact meaning of this word. Roquefort, vol. II, p. 135, of his *Glossaire de la langue Romane*, says no more than: "MANGON, sorte de monnaie d'or et apprenti, suivant D. Carpentier." But we must have recourse to du Cange's Glossary, where we read the following lines *sub voce* MANCUSA: "Mancusa, pro *Manca*, seu *marca*, passim habent Scriptores Anglici, Anglo-Saxonibus mances, mancessa, et mancus, ut auctor est Spelmannus: Matthæus Westmonast. ann. 857. *Romæ autem singulis annis* 400. *denariorum Mancusas præcepit portari, etc.* Simeon Dunelmensis, ann. 855. *Romam quoque pro redemptione animæ suæ trecentas Mancusas portari præcepit*", etc., etc.

"Apud nostros quoque fuit in usu hæc monetæ species sub nomine *Mangon*, quod à nemine, quod sciam, hactenus observatum existimo. — Le Roman *de Guillaume au Faucon*, MS.

Dist la dame: "Or avez faucon,
Deux besans valent un Mangon.
Ce fu bien dit: deux mots à un,
Qu'il en auroit deux pour un."

And to the Supplement to du Cange by Dom Carpentier, vol. II, col. 1143: "MANCUSA. *adde:* Sive sit moneta percussa, sive certum monetarum pondus; hinc deducenda mihi videtur, quod jam in Glossario observatum est, monetæ aureæ species, à nostris *Mangon* appellata; de qua etiam mentio fit in vita J. C. MS.

Trente Mangons d'or m'en donnés,
Ce li respondi la pucele.

Le Roman *d'Alexandre,* MS. part. 1:

Et son cheval ferrant, qui vaut tous les Gascon,
Ne seroit eligié pour un mui de Mangon."

To these quotations we may add the following ones, extracted from works of the same age as Fantosme:

Ki dune sun as maveis, sun or ou sun *mangun,*
Mut s'en deit repentir, issi m'eit seint Symun.

(*Roman de Horn,* ms. Harl. 527, folio 64 recto, col. 2, l. 21; ms. of the Public Library of the university of Cambridge Ff. 6. 17, folio 50 recto, l. 5.)

Jà n'en averai de vus le vaillant d'un butun,
Ne de lui n'en averai sun or ne sun *mangun.*

(*Id.,* ms. of Cambridge, folio 59 recto, l. 4.)

Tenez m'espée, meillur n'en at nuls hom;
Entre les helz ad plus de mil *manguns.*

(*La Chanson de Roland,* p. 25, st. XLVII.)

Cil ot fiance del cunte Guenelon,
Il li dunat s'espée e mil *manguns.*

(*Id.,* p. 61, st. CXVII.)

Desur l'alter seint Severin le baron
Met l'oliphan plein d'or e de *manguns.*

(*Id.,* p. 142, st. CCLXIX.)

See also the glossary which is at the end of Twysden's collection of English historians, voce Mancusa.

P. 66, line 1463. *Appelbi.* Appleby, now a borough and market-town in Westmoreland. See an account of it in *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland.* By Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burn. In two volumes. London: printed by W. Strahan; and T. Cadell, MDCCLXXVII, vol. I, p. 308-321.

Line 1467. *Cospatric le fiz Horm, un viel Engleis furi.* See the genealogy of this Gospatric in the book quoted above, vol. I, page 465. We are informed, at p. 309 of the same volume, that Henry II fined him in 500 marks for his having surrendered, and raised a contribution on the other officers according to their rank.

P. 68, line 1481. *Burc.* Burgh, or rather Brough-under-Stanemore (that is, a borough on a stony mountain), is a market-town of Westmoreland. There is an account of it in the preceding work, vol. I, p. 464 and the following. The castle was burnt by accident in 1521, and rebuilt in 1661, by Anne Clifford, countess dowager of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery.

Page 70, l. 1532. *L'evesque de Wincestre.* This prelate, named Richard Toclive or of Ilchester, was previously archdeacon of Poitiers. He was installed bishop of Winchester the 16th of the calends of June, A. D. 1173, before being consecrated, a ceremony which took place the following year, at Canterbury, October 6. He died in 1188, the 11th of the calends of January. See, concerning him, Henry Wharton's *Anglia sacra*, vol. I, p. 286, 301, 302, 799; and the *History civil and ecclesiastical, and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester.* By the Rev. John Milner. Winchester, printed and sold by Ja.ˢ Robbins, etc. Without any date, two vol. 4°, vol. I, p. 226, 227.

Line 1542. *Endart.* This word is to be found in a romance of the twelfth century:

> Joe li dei bien eidier: il me nurri tusart;
> Si l'en dei guerredun à certes, nun *endart.*

(*Roman de Horn*, ms. of the public library of the university of Cambridge Ff. 6. 17, folio 34 verso, l. 8.)

And in another work of the XIIIth century:

> Si quit que desous se chemise
> N'aloit pas le seurplus *endar.*

(*Li Jus Adan, ou de la Feuillie. — Théâtre français au moyen âge*, p. 61, l. 7; p. 94, col. 2, l. 1; p. 96, col. 2, l. 16.)

Is not this word the prototype of the Italian word *indarno?*

Line 1556. *L'eslit de Nincole.* See, concerning this prelate, named Geffrey, who was natural son of Henry II and Rosamund Clifford, Giraldus Cambrensis, *de vita Galfridi archiepiscopi Eboracensis* (Anglia sacra, part II, p. 378, 379); and Lord Lyttelton, 4°, 1771, vol. III, p. 134, 136. His seal, while bishop of Lincoln, is engraved in the 21st volume of the Archæologia.

Page 72, line 1568. *Randulf de Glanvile.* A memoir of this baron is in Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 423, col. 2. He was one of the barons of the Exchequer; see Madox's History, p. 86 and the following, and 744. He was besides, first, one of the six judges of the king's bench (in curia regis constituti ad audiendum clamores populi [1]), and afterwards chief-justice of England. "Eodem anno (1180, 26° Henrici II) Henricus rex Angliæ pater constituit Ranulphum de Glanvilla justiciarium totius Angliæ; cujus sapientia conditæ sunt leges subscriptæ, quas Anglicanas vocamus [2]."

Richemunt. A borough and market-town of Yorkshire, the history of which was published under this title: *The History and Antiquities of Richmond in the County of York:* by Christopher Clarkson, Esq. F. S. A. Richmond: printed for the Author by Thomas Bowman. 1821, one vol. 4°.

Conan, fifth earl of Richmond, having died June 25, 1171, in Britanny, Henry II, whose second son, Geffrey Plantagenet, when eight years old, had married Constance, Conan's daughter, only five years of age, held some time, during the minority of his daughter-in-law, the honor of Richmond; for in the year following the earl's death, Ralph de Glanville paid to the king a composition of six pounds, eight shillings and two pence,

[1] *Rogeri de Hoveden Annalium pars posterior. Henricus secundus.* Apud H. Savile, p. 591, l. 45-48.

[2] Hoveden, p. 600, l. 40.

being the fee-farm of the year of Conan's death; and he was, soon afterwards, appointed high sheriff of Yorkshire, a situation which he filled for many years. See Madox's History of the Exchequer, p. 440.

Line 1583. *En poi d'ure Deu labure, ço dit li mendiant.* This proverb is to be met with elsewhere, as in the fabliau of Estula, l. 139 [1]; and in the *Chronique de Rains*, p. 146:

> Mais en poi d'eure Diex labeure,
> Teus rit au matin qui au soir pleure;

in a poem of the XIIIth century, intitled *c'est li Mariages des Filles au Dyable:*

> En petit d'eure Diex labeure.

(Ms. of the Bibliothèque royale de l'Arsenal, belles-lettres françoises infolio, fol. 293 recto, col. 1, l. 1; *Nouveau Recueil de Contes, Dits, Fabliaux et autres Pièces inédites des* XIII, XIV *et* XV^es^ *siècles*... Par Achille Jubinal, vol. I, Paris, chez Edouard Pannier, 1839, 8°, p. 288, l. 18.)

In the Provençal romance of Flamenca:

> Em petit d'ora Deus laora.

(Ms. of the public library of Carcassonne, in Languedoc, n° 681, f° LXXXIX recto, line 17.)

In the *Roman de la Manekine*, p. 253, l. 7574:

> Car en peu d'eure Dix labeure;

and in a collection of *Proverbes de Fraunce*, ms. of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, n° 450, p. 254, l. 44:

> En petit hure Diex laboure.

Line 1588 and 1603. *Cheles.* We have translated *cheles* by *my good fellow*, because we think that this word comes from the Latin *catulus* [2]. We find it again in the *Roman de Guillaume d'Orange*, Ms. of the Royal Library, at Paris, 6985, folio 251 recto, col. 1:

> "Maillefer, sire, dient li marcheant,
> Secors te mande, pour Deu le roi amant,
> Le vostre pere que vous paramez tant;
> Que en arere l'ont assis li Persant..."
> Maillefer l'ot, si s'en va soupirant.
> Où voit Guillaume si li dit en plorant...
> "Sire Guillaume, pour Deu le roi amant...
> Dont n'oez-vous cest message pesant?...
> Secourons-le, s'il vous vient à talant."
> "Oncle Guillaume, dit Maillefers, *chaele*,
> Dont n'oez-vous ceste forte novele
> Que Sarrasin tienent mon pere en serre?

[1] *Fabliaux et Contes des Poetes françois des* XII, XIII, XIV et XV^es^ *Siécles*... A Amsterdam, chez Arkstée et Merkus, M DCC LVI, 12°, vol. III, p. 67; Méon's edition, vol. III, p. 397.

[2] "Li *chaiel* au lyon des illes seront mué en poissons de mer." *Histoire des Ducs de Normandie et des Rois d'Angleterre*, p. 68, l. 11.

Jà vous a-il aquitée vostre guerre,
Et Sarrasins chaciez fors de la terre.
Par toz les sainz que en requiert en l'arche!
Mal le penserent li paien de Biterne," etc.

And folio 269 recto, col. 1:

Sinagons est en la tor de Palerne,
Et avec lui la gent de pute geste;
La nuit est quoie et la lune est bele:
Gietent lor sort par mi une fenestre,
.J. riche paile li mestre cler i metent.
Deront li pailes et descirre et dessere,
En .iiii. parz deront et dechancele.
Les .iii. parties en chaïrent à terre;
La quarte part devers France s'adresce,
En l'air s'enbat, ne chie ne ne chancele.
Li clert le voient, a pou d'ire ne desvent;
Chascun tenoit sa main à sa maissele,
Pleurent et crient et font mout grant moleste.
Dist Synagons: "Qu'avez-vos, seignor mestre?
Que dit vo sort? dites-le-moi, *chaele.*"
— "Del sort diron tot ce qu'il en puet estre:
Encore est vis voire dan Guilleme
Dedenz Provence, cele terre deserte;
Là est hermites dedenz une chapele,
En .i. derube qui granz est et rebelle;
Là dit Guillaume et matines et vespres," etc.

In the *Roman de l'Escouffle:*

Ele a dit moult cortoisement
As meschines et as puceles
Ki devant li gisent: "*Chaieles,*
Beles, car vos levés hui mais."

(Ms. of the royal library of the Arsenal, at Paris, belles-lettres françoises, 178, 4°, fol. 28 recto, col. 2, l. 1.)

And in another poem of the thirteenth century:

Et Fregus li respont: "*Caeles,*
Sire ostes, se Diex vous aït,
Aviés-vous riens de li mesdit?"

(*Li Romans des Aventures Fregus*, printed for the Abbotsford Club, p. 94, l. 2.)

Page 74, line 1615. *Gilebert de Munfichet.* See, concerning this baron, Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 438, col 2.

Line 1616. *Clarreaus.* I have translated this word by *men of Clare;* still I do not know whether it be not the name of the people from a place in Vermandois, then subjects to the count of Flanders, which Gilbert of Mons calls *Claris.* See the *Rec. des Historiens des Gaules,* etc., vol. XIII, p. 566, E.

Page 76, line 1695. *Gavelens.*

Après un an, ne meis ne plus,
A Burneweste ot le desus

Sur les Escoz et sur les Cumbreis,
Sur *Galwains* e sur Pecteis.

(Geffrey Gaimar's Chronicle of the Anglo-Saxons, ms. of the cathedral library of Durham C. IV. 27, folio 116 recto, col 2, l. 19. The Lincoln ms. reads *Gawaleis.)*

Galwegians, wild as ocean's gale.

(*Marmion*, cant. II, st. xv.)

See, with regard to the cruelty of this people and of the Scotch, at this time, *Ethelredus abbas Rievallis de Bello Standardi (Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, col. 341, l. 1), and Roger de Hoveden (apud H. Savile, p. 537, l. 39). The former calls the Galloway-men *Galwenses*, and Roger *Galawenses*. See also, for their arms, the same abbot, col. 340, l. 17; and *Ymagines historiarum autore Radulfo de Diceto*, col. 573, l. 19. The latter calls them *Galwalenses*. Lastly, as to their courage, see Ethelredus, col. 342, l. 26; and col. 345, l. 24. We may suppose that the recollection of the cruelties of the Scotch gave birth to the fables relating to the people of *Auneguie*, a name which is very like *Angus:*

Uns poples merveillox qu'est devers destre sors;
Ansamble sont .c.M. tuit de fors fereors,
Les barbes ont flories ausi comme poiles d'ors,
Les testes plates, lée comme pele de fors,
Les oilz noirs comme more, les sorciz toz rebors,
Boiches granz et fandues, danz aguës et fors,
Les cors orent bien faiz ausi com aumacors.
Cil vinrent d'*Auneguie*, armé de lor ators;
Il ne tienent des Saisne viles, chastiax ne bors;
Lor dame les tremist Guiteclin par amors.
Cil sevent depecier viles, charriax et bors,
Faire honte et domage, ce est toz lor labors.

(*La Chanson des Saxons*, vol. II, p. 74, l. 7.)

Page 78, line 1717. *Willame d'Estutevile.* Dugdale names Robert the baron who, with others, took William the Lion. See, in his Baronage, vol. I, p. 455, col. 2, the article *Stutevill.*

Line 1719. *Dan Bernart de Baillou.* This lord was Bernard II, who succeeded to his father, Bernard I, before 1167. See, concerning him, Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 523, col 1; and the fourth volume of Surtees's History (not yet published), p. 51.

Line 1722. *L'arcevesques d'Everwic.* Roger, commonly surnamed *of the Bishoprick*, as he is supposed to have been born in the Bishoprick of Durham, was the 31st archbishop of York, and consecrated at Westminster by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, October 10, 1154, the feast day of St. Paulinus. He died November 22, 1181. See a memoir of him in *Eboracum: or the History and Antiquities of the City of York*... By Francis Drake. London: printed by William Bowyer for the Author, M DCC XXXVI, folio, p. 421-422.

Line 1724. *Al Noef-Chastel-sur-Tine.* There is a work on this place, intitled: *The History and Antiquities of the Town and County of the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne*... By John Brand, M. A. London: printed for B. White and son... MDCCLXXXIX, 2 vol. 4°, where, vol. II, p. 388, etc., there is an account of the taking of William the Lion.

Page 84, line 1856. *Dan Alein de Lanceles.* A Richard de Lancell is named at p. 313 of Madox's History of the Exchequer. There is an an-

cient family of the name of Lascelles, now earls of Harewood. See *The dormant and extinct Baronage of England*, etc. By T. C. Banks. London : printed by T. Bensley, for J. White, 1807, 4to, vol. I, p. 356.

Line 1864. *Willame de Mortemer.* This William is named as one of the hostages of the king of Scotland, in the agreement which intered into between Henry II and William the Lion at Falaise, in 1174. See below, p. 211.

Page 86, l. 1878. *Richart Maluvel.* We find a *Rogerus Malluvel* in the *Magnus Rotulus Pipæ* (Northumberland), anno 1210, 12° Johannis. See Hodgson's book, col. 108.

Line 1897. *Waltier de Bolebec.* See, concerning this lord, Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I, p. 452; and *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, p. 194 and 330.

Line 1903. *El mustier Saint-Lorenz.* This is a church of Warkworth, in which the Scots headed by Duncan, earl of Fife, committed great atrocities. See *Benedictus abbas Petroburgensis.*

Line 1913. Lord Hailes, vol. I, p. 116, calls in question the veracity of this coincidence, mentioned by Roger de Hoveden and William de Newbury; but Gervase of Canterbury confirms it by relating that Henry II left Canterbury on the saturday, July 13. See col. 1427.

Page 88, line 1934. *Dan Henri le Blunt.* Dugdale, vol. I, p. 518, mentions a *Gilbert* le Blount, in the time of Henry II, and *William* le Blount, his son, but no *Henry.*

Line 1965. *Nul d'ure.* I have translated the last word by *at that hour;* but it may be the same as *dur* in the following passage, and ought to be therefore translated by *at all* and written without an apostrophe.

> "Wikele, dit Modun, si oiez grant folur.
> Bien le savoi dès ainz qu'il estoit gabéur :
> Fous est ki pur cesti se coruce un *dur.*"

(*Roman de Horn*, ms. Harl. 527, folio 73 recto, col. 1, l. 7.)

The ms. of the public library of the university of Cambridge reads *ptein dor.* See folio 84 recto, l. 2.

Page 105, various reading to the line 841. *Erwelle Suffoke.* This name refers to Orewell in Suffolk, which Radulfus de Diceto names *Airewella* (See below, p. 178, l. 36), Matthew Paris *Arwella* (see our Appendix, p. 194), Radulfus Coggeshale *Erwelle* (*Amplissima Collectio*, t. V, col. 878, C), and the anonymous writer of a history of the dukes of Normandy and of the kings of England *Orewelle.* See our edition of this work, printed for the Société de l'Histoire de France, p. 161, l. 11.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

Ex Guillielmi Neubrigensis Historia sive chronica rerum Anglicarum libris quinque..... Ed. Thoma Hearnio. Oxonii, e Theatro Sheldoniano, M. DCC. XIX, 8°, vol. I, p. 196, lib. II, cap. XXVII-XXXIII [1].

Page 196. *Quomodo Henricus tertius recessit à patre, et* [2] *commovit contra eum Regem Francorum et alios.*

CAP. XXVII.

Anno a partu Virginis M. C. LXXIII., qui fuit regis Henrici secundi vicesimus, cum idem rex in Angliam reversus ex Hibernia, in [197] Normanniam post modicum transisset ex Anglia, facta est execrabilis et fœda dissensio inter ipsum et filium ejus Henricum tertium, quem ante biennium, ut superius dictum est, in regem fecerat solemniter consecrari. Cum enim idem crevisset, et pubes jam factus vellet cum sacramento et nomine rem sacramenti et nominis obtinere, et patri saltem conregnare, cum solus, ut ei a quibusdam insusurrabatur, de jure regnare deberet, quasi eo coronato regnum expirasset paternum; indignans maxime expensas regie faciendas sibi a patre parcius ministrari, contra patrem intumuit atque infremuit, clamque ad socerum suum regem Francorum, patri tædium moliturus, profugit. A quo nimirum grate susceptus, non tam quia gener erat, quam quia a genitore desciverat, ejus se in omnibus consilio credidit.

Francorum [3] igitur virulentissimis abhortationibus animatus atque instigatus in patrem, quominus jus violaret naturæ exemplo [4] non est territus scelestissimi Absalonis. Pater vero, filii avertione comperta, et quo pro-

[1] This fragment may be read also in two former editions, viz: 1° *Antuerpiæ, ex officina Gulielmi Silvij, typographi Regii.* M. D. LXVII, 8°, p. 175-193; 2° *Ed. Joanne Picardo. Parisiis, apud Carolum Sevestre*, etc. M. DC. X, 8°, p. 215-238; and, for the greater part, in the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. XIII, p. 113, l. 5 — p. 116.

[2] Commovit eum contra regem Franciæ (*omissis* et alios), *Edd. priores.*

[3] *Antea*, ergo.

[4] *Vide notas P.*

fugisset agnoscens, misit ad regem Francorum viros honoratos cum verbis pacificis, filium paterno jure reposcens, et, si quid circa illum emendandum videretur, ejusdem se regis concilio mature emendatorum pollicens. Ad [1] hæc ille: "Quis mihi, inquit, talia mandat?" — "Rex, aiunt, Anglo-[198]rum." Et ille: "Falsum est, inquit. Rex Anglorum ecce adest, per vos mihi [2] nil mandat. Si autem patrem hujus, olim Anglorum regem, [3] etiam nunc regem appellatis, scitote quia ille rex mortuus est. Porro quod adhuc pro rege se gerit, cum regnum filio, mundo teste, resignaverit, mature emendabitur." Sic delusi responsales ad dominum suum rediere. Mox idem Henricus junior, Francorum consilio, malum patri undecunque moliens, partes Aquitaniæ clam adiit, et duos fratres impuberes ibidem cum matre consistentes, Richardum scilicet et Gaufridum, sollicitatos, connivente (ut dicitur) matre, in Franciam secum traduxit. Alteri enim Aquitaniam, alteri Britanniam suo tempore possidendas pater concesserat, et propterea per illum Aquitanos, per hunc vero Britones proclivius suis partibus applicandos, Francis docentibus, intelligebat. Comitem quoque Flandrensem patris sui consobrinum, virum magnarum virium, et innumeræ bellicosæque cui præerat gentis fiducia in immensum gloriantem, grandibus promissis [4] illectum, [5] annitente rege Francorum, sibi adjunxit. Tunc multi potentes et nobiles, tam in Anglia quam in partibus transmarinis, vel mero odio eatenus dissimulato impulsi, vel vanissimis pollicitationibus sollicitati, a patre ad filium [199] paulatim cœperunt deficere, et ad motus se bellicos modis omnibus præparare. Comes scilicet Leicestrensis, comes Cestrensis, Hugo Bigotus, Radulphus de [6] Fougeriis, aliique complures amplitudine opum et firmitate munitionum terribiles. Multi etiam suis rebus viribusque minus confidentes, ne nil agerent, concedendo in Franciam, hostilem animum declararunt. [7] Hiis accessit hostis truculentior rex Scottorum, immites populos, et neque sexui neque ætati parcituros, finibus immissurus Anglorum. Cum ergo tot tantique proceres a rege seniore descivissent, omnesque contra eum tanquam pro anima sua gererent; admodum pauci erant qui ei fideliter et firmiter adhærerent, ceteris circa eum pendule fluitantibus, dum a regis junioris absorberi victoria scrupulosius formidarent. Tunc demum vidit rex senior (sic enim vulgo dicebatur) quam inconsulte, immo quam stulte egerit, præmature creando sibi successorem, minus attendens quod novarum rerum aucupatores regem proclivius sequerentur juniorem. Turbatis ergo rebus anxius, dum hostes interni externique urgerent, [8] hiis quoque qui sibi adhærere videbantur, in gratiam filii remissius agentibus, minus se credens, stipendarias [9] Bribancionum [200] copias, quas [10] Rutas vocant, accersivit; eo quod de thesauris regiis, quibus in tali articulo parcendum non esset, pecunia copiosa suppeteret.

1 Hoc, *Edd. pr.*
2 *Antea,* nihil.
3 *Desunt* etiam nunc regem *in MS. Pic.*
4 *Deest* illectum *in Edd. priorib.*
5 Annuente, *MS. Pic.*
6 *Germanius,* Fulgeriis, *ut appendix Sigib. ipseque Radulphus in confirmatione cœnobii S. Petri ad oppidum Fulgerius conditi in Armorica Britannia sub annum* 1160. *Pic.*
7 His, *Edd. pr.*
8 His, *Edd. pr.*
9 Brab'. *ad oram MS. nostri a manu recentiori. Quod idem valet ac* Brabancionum.
10 Putas, *MS. Pic.*

Qualia contigerunt apud Albemarliam et Castellum-novum et Vernullium.

CAP. XXVIII.

Igitur mense Junio, quando solent reges ad bella procedere, finitimi principes, contractis undecunque viribus, regem hostiliter aggrediuntur Anglorum, sub obtentu quidem quasi pro filio æmularentur contra patrem, qua nimirum æmulatione nil stultius; re autem vera proprii vel odii, ut rex Francorum, vel emolumenti, ut comes Flandrensis, negotium porrecta occasione agentes. Porro rex Anglorum ad excipiendos tantorum hostium impetus minus se poterat præparare, propter suorum tumultus internos, quibus vehementissime angebatur. Cum ergo propter manum imparem irrumpentibus non posset occurrere, munitiones [1] tamen quæ erant in terminis, dispertitis præsidiis, cautius studuit munire. Itaque rex Francorum oppidum Vernullium, nullius rei necessariæ ad tolerandam obsidionem diutinam indigum, circumfuso [2] conclusit exercitu, non nisi capto eo vel dedito progressurus. Comes vero Flandrensis cum suis copiis a parte Flandriæ [201] irruens, obsedit [3] Albemarliam, valido quidem inaniter fultam præsidio; cum ejusdem oppidi dominus, comes scilicet Albemarlensis, [4] circa seniorem regem, ceu multi alii, fluctuaret. Qui nimirum, pro eo quod oppidum minus oppugnatum cito expugnatum est, cum Flandrensi creditus est [5] comite collusisse; a quo captus cum omnibus quos illic rex causa præsidii miserat, alia quoque castella sua resignavit. Progrediensque Flandrensis exercitus, ad majora faustis animatus principiis, munitionem regiam que [6] Castellum-novum dicitur, per dies aliquot adhibitis machinis, fortiter [7] oppugnavit. Qua tandem dedita, comes tamen Flandrensis gavisus non est. Frater namque ejus Matheus, comes Bononiensis, quo ille tanquam futuro successore gaudebat, qui de conjuge propria sobolem nequaquam susceperat aut sperabat, in ejusdem oppidi oppugnatione ictu sagittæ circa genu saucius, casu vulneris in pejus vergente, decubuit, et post dies paucissimos inter curandum in fata concessit: fratri tantum ex suo interitu luctum relinquens, ut soluta mox expeditione, lugubris ad propria remearet, sinistrum sibi eventum objectans atque imputans, qui regem consobrinum, a quo nunquam læsus, crebro autem beneficiis præventus extite[202]rat, causa nequissimi filii hostiliter impetendum duxisset. Quo comperto, considerans idem rex se jam bellicæ sollicitudinis parte dimidia pro tempore liberatum, adversus partem reliquam propensiorem mox sumpsit fiduciam. Convocatis ergo stipendiariis copiis, et quotquot eum in illo articulo non deserendum putabant, denunciavit regi Francorum (qui jam partem [8] ætatis plurimam in prænominati oppidi obsidione consumpserat, eoque mature se potiturum sperabat) ut vel obsidionem desereret, vel ad diem certum discrimen sibi bellicum impendere minime dubitaret. Primum quidem Franci natura

1 Tantum, *Edd. pr.*
2 *Antea,* concludit.
3 *Antea,* Albemarlam valido inaniter ful. pr. cum ejus oppidi, *Edd. priores.*
4 Contra sen., *Edd. pr.*
5 *Deest* comite *in Edd. pr.*
6 *Vulgo* Neuchastel *in tractu Caletensi, diœcesique Rothomagensi. Pic.*
7 Expugnavit, *Edd. priores.*
8 *Sic etiam MS. Pic. Antea,* ætatis.

feroces simul et arrogantes, præsertim cum numero et apparatu bellico præstare viderentur, denunciationem derisere, id eum nullatenus ausurum arbitrantes; verum agnito quod inpavidus cum instructo adventaret exercitu, tunc primum suspicari potuere [1] eum aliquid ausurum. Illico rex eorum, accitis festine optimatibus, tractare cum eis cœpit de bello; missisque obviam regi [2] Anglorum episcopo et abbate, qui ab ore ejus acciperent utrum congressurus accederet, ipse interim pro tempore copias instruebat. [3] Et ecce missi eidem regi [4] occurrunt, qui nescio quid ordinans, seseque cum multa confidentia osten[203]tans, armatus cum paucis aliquot stadiorum spatio exercitum anteibat. Cui cum dicerent regem Francorum velle certificari de prælio, vultu feroci et voce terribili: " Ite, inquit, [5] dicite regi vestro quia ecce adsum. " Cumque festinanter reversi, instantis jam de proximo principis ferociam et obstinationem indicassent, consilium habuerunt rex et optimates Francorum ut pro tempore cederent, et pugnaturi pro hereditate patrum suorum impetum declinarent. Itaque castris relictis, cum tremendis illis copiis in Franciam refugerunt, armati tamen et compositis ordinibus, ne fugere viderentur; sicque [6] illi qui paulo ante ferocibus animis et grandium rugitu verborum leones videbantur, tanquam lepores cedendo fugiendoque repente inventi sunt. Porro rex Anglorum, indecora superborum hostium fuga contentus, urgere et persequi noluit [7] abeuntes; sed exercitu ad hostilium direptionem [8] castrorum converso, oppidum cum solemni lætitia, suis qui ibidem fortiter egerant congratulaturus, intravit. Repertum est autem in castris frumenti et vini et escarum plurimum, cum [9] suppellectile varia, quam abeuntes, instantibus adversariis, asportare non poterant.

[204] *De* [10] *hiis qui capti sunt apud* [11] *Dolum.*

CAP. XXIX.

Externis [12] igitur hostibus, quorum maxima erat potentia, rege scilicet Francorum et Flandrensi comite, [13] Dei voluntate propulsatis, interni minime quievere. Quorum plurimi condicto convenientes et conglobati, [14] Dolense oppidum obtinuerunt, quod juris quidem est Britannici, sed Normanicis collimitatur finibus. Quo audito, [15] Bribanciones regii mature affuerunt; et congressi cum eis, primo eorum multitudinem in oppidum refugere, mox etiam, capto oppido, in unius arcis angustias secedere com-

[1] Aliquid eum, *Edd. pr.*
[2] Anglorum uno episcopo, *Edd. priores.*
[3] *Deest* Et *in Ed. Pic.*
[4] *Antea,* occurrerunt.
[5] Et dicite, *Edd. priores.*
[6] *Deest* illi *in Edd. pr.*
[7] *Antea,* fugientes.
[8] *Sic etiam MS. Pic. Antea, omittebatur* castrorum.
[9] Supellectile, *Edd. priores.*
[10] His, *Edd. priores.*
[11] *V. c.* Dolnacum. *Sed prior lectio certior est; enim Dolum urbs episcopalis in Britann. Gallica. Pic.*
[12] *Antea,* ergo.
[13] *Antea,* divina.
[14] Dolum, *Edd. priores.*
[15] Brab'., *MS. noster.* V. sup., p. 199.

pulerunt. Quibus ita conclusis, res cum summa celeritate defertur ad regem Rothomagi consistentem. Ille cibi somnique oblitus, mutando vehicula, longa terrarum spatia transmeans, tam festinus affuit ut volasse videretur. Cumque [1] oppugnando arci intenderet, conclusa multitudo angustias illas non ferens, misericordiam imploravit. Pactus ergo eis rex vitam cum integritate membrorum, arce dedita, insignem illam captivitatem custodiæ mancipavit. Ibi quippe [2] comes Cestrensis et Radulphus de Fougeriis, aliique [205] nobiles fere centum, in manus regis, quem atrocissimis fuerant odiis insectati, Dei judicio inciderunt; a quo nimirum multo clementius quam eorum meritis debebatur, tractati, pro tempore in vinculis quieverunt. Duo vero prænominati, qui clariores videbantur inter captivos, regi de fidelitate servanda satisfacientes, relaxari meruerunt. In qua re procul dubio tanti principis in prævaricatores infidelissimos hostesque atrocissimos clementia jure miranda laudandaque censetur.

De obsidione Leicestriæ, et guerra regis Scottorum, et captione comitis Leicestrensis.

CAP. XXX.

Dum in transmarinis partibus a rege vel circa regem talia gererentur, in Anglia quoque non dissimilia provenerunt. Cum enim comes Leicestrensis, qui primus a rege defecerat, plurimos petulanti corrupisset exemplo, Richardus de Lusci, qui tunc Angliæ sub rege præerat, accepto a rege mandato et exercitu propere convocato, Leicestriam obsedit; qua dedita et incensa, oppugnationem castelli omittens, eo quod ad urgentiora negotia vocaretur, recessit. Porro rex Scottorum agnito quantum rex Anglorum in Normannia laboraret, cum gentis barbaræ et sitientis sangui[206]nem immanissimis copiis, Anglorum fines ingressus, civitatem [3] Carduliensem obsidione circumdedit, totamque adjacentem provinciam cædibus et rapinis fœdavit. Comperto [4] autem quod ingens ex superiori Anglia exercitus adventaret, obsidionem reliquit; et post vastam provinciæ quæ Northumbria dicitur depopulationem, a facie procerum nostrorum in propria se recepit. Qui nimirum advenientes cum militaribus copiis amnem Tuedam, que regnum Anglicum Scotticumque disterminat, transgressi, terræ hostili talionem nullo obsistente intulerunt. Sed mox ferventibus nunciis ad superiora Angliæ revocantur; regis tamen hostis ferocia necessariis pro tempore induciis caute suspensa, cum eum callida nostrorum dissimulatione laterent adhuc quæ nunciabantur. Comes enim Leicestrensis cum classe hostili ex Flandria apud Orientales Anglos applicuit, susceptusque a complice proprio, Hugone scilicet Bigoto, viro potente et callido, ibidem aliquandiu cum adducto consedit exercitu. Mox eodem Hugone duce et cooperatore idem exercitus irruens super civitatem Norwicensem, eandem præsidio vacuam et repentino terrore prestrictam minimo negocio effregit; ejusque abrasis, præda onustus ad castra rediit. Cumque eodem auctore atque incentore insignem vicum maritimum

[1] Oppugnandæ, *Edd. pr.*
[2] *Illi ipsi sunt de quibus supra cap.* 27 *Pic.*
[3] Carlill *ad oram exemplaris Ed. Pic. mecum a R. Rawlinsono communicati scripsit eruditus quispiam.*
[4] *Deest* autem *in Edd. priorib.*

variis opibus [1] refertum, qui dicitur Donewic, similiter irrupturus accederet, habitatorum, qui se ad excipiendum hostilem impetum constanter præparabant, fiducia territus, et nihil adversus hujusmodi audendum ratus, vacuus recessit. Hugo verò ejusdem exercitus, quantum volebat, opera usus, denunciavit comiti Leicestrensi ut copias peregrinas quas adduxerat, ad terram et castella proprii juris traduceret. Qui nimirum diu multumque hæsitans, eo quod per medios hostium fines, qui ejus dicebantur transitum observare, absque grandi non posset periculo Leicestriam transmeare; tandem confidens de numero et virtute sociorum (habebat enim equites circiter octoginta electos, [2] et peditum fortium quatuor vel quinque milia), reputans etiam neminem sibi obstiturum in via, eo quod in eis qui regi favere videbantur, amicos haberet plurimos, constanter cum uxore et quodam nobili viro ex Francia, Hugone scilicet de Castello, totisque copiis iter arripuit. Regii autem proceres apud Sanctum-Edmundum cum copiosa militia observabant. Cumque illi prope jam essent, instructum contra eos exercitum produxerunt. Porro illi neque ad dexteram neque ad sinistram declinare valentes, et necessitatem in alacritatem vertentes, turmis dispositis, audacter processere. Commissum est [208] itaque prælium grave, his pro gloria, illis pro salute certantibus. Sed victoria concessit ad Regios; captusque est comes cum conjuge, virilis animi femina, et memorato Hugone de Castello, et toto fere equitatu; peditum vero multitudo fere omnis interiit. Insignes captivi in Normanniam [3] ad regem sunt missi; de ceteris quoque factum est quod voluit.

De David Scotto, et quibusdam aliis qui a rege defecerunt.

CAP. XXXI.

Sane cum illa filii contra patrem infilialis vesania fere biennio debacchata [4] noscatur, primi anni insigniora gesta superiori sunt relatione digesta. Hieme [5] quippe paulisper a bellicis tumultibus cessatum est in partibus transmarinis; in Anglia vero non ita. Viri enim qui erant in munitionibus comitis Leicestrensis, cum propter hoc quod domino suo acciderat, aliquandiu quievissent, rursus efferati et tanquam ad domini sui ultionem inflammati, aggregata sibi improborum multitudine, vicinas provincias excursionibus infestare cœperunt; et ut principem magni nominis habentes fiducialius agerent, Hunteduniensem comitem David, fratrem regis Scottorum, [209] ducem sibi ac principem delegerunt. Quo tanquam feliciter debacchante [6] et prospere procedente ad plurima, comes quoque [7] Ferrariensis et vir nobilis [8] Rogerius de [9] Moubrai animum diu dissimu-

[1] *Antea*, refectum.
[2] *Deest* et *in Edd. priorib.*
[3] *Sic etiam MS. Pic. Antea*, a rege.
[4] *Antea*, dinoscatur.
[5] Quidem paul., *Edd. priores.*
[6] Et re prosp., *Edd. priores.*
[7] *Ita quoque MS. Pic. Antea*, Farrariensis.
[8] *Conditor cœnobiorum Bellelandæ et Neub. sup. l. 1. c. 15. et inf. cap. 32 Pic.*
[9] Mubrai, *Edd. priores.*

latum declarantes, post defectores ceteros abierunt; vixque sacris Quadragesimæ diebus concepti furoris impetum cohibentes, post solemnitatem Paschalem ad ausus improbos proruperunt. Nec cessabat eo tempore rex junior optimates Anglorum, qui patri adhærere videbantur, per clandestinas litteras vel promissionibus allicere, vel comminationibus pulsare, ut eos ad suas quocunque modo partes traduceret. Quamobrem tunc in Anglia pauci admodum nobiles fuisse traduntur, qui non circa regem vacillarent, ab eo [1] pro tempore defecturi, nisi maturius eorum fuisset meditationibus obviatum.

De adventu regis in Angliam, et qualia Scotti fecerunt [2] *in Anglia.*

CAP. XXXII.

Igitur secundo initæ contentionis anno, rursum a magnis hostibus, scilicet rege Francorum, comite Flandrensi, rege Scottorum, bellum adversus seniorem Anglorum Re[210]gem totis viribus instauratur. Et comes quidem Flandrensis, fraterni jam oblitus exitii, [3] præ ambitu Anglicanæ provinciæ quæ Cantia dicitur, de qua scilicet regi juniori jam hominium fecerat, cum eodem in Angliam transiturus, [4] transferendis copiis classem parabat. Rex vero Francorum contractum undecunque exercitum invasurus Normanniam instruebat. Quibus cognitis, rex Anglorum senior, malens sibi fines [5] suos transmarinos periclitari quam regnum (quos tamen caute credidit muniendos; prævidebat enim neminem in Anglia se absente et tanquam non extante, illi qui successurus expectabatur, obsturum), præventis hostibus cum aliquando equitatu et una [6] Bribantionum turma in Angliam mature advehitur. Interea rex Scottorum cum propriæ gentis infinita barbarie, atque accersitorum ex Flandria stipendiariorum equitum peditumque manu non modica, fines Anglorum ingressus, duas in [7] Westmeria munitiones regias, scilicet Burgum et Appelbi, præoccupatas et sine præsidiis inventas obtinuit; indeque digrediens, urbem iterum Carduliensem oppugnare statuit. Sed cautione a [8] trepidis civibus præstita quod ad diem certum civitatem illi traderent, nisi interim a rege Anglorum sufficiens sibi præsidium mitteretur, ad quandam munitionem su[211]per amnem Tinum, quæ dicitur Prudehou, oppugnandam convertit exercitum. Tunc accessit ad eum prædictus Rogerius de [9] Moubrai auxilium flagitans. Duabus quippe munitionibus suis a Gaufrido regis Anglorum filio naturali, tunc Lincolniensi electo, fortiter expugnatis et captis, tertiam, Tresch vocatam, cum periculo possidebat. Qui nimirum Rogerius regi Scottorum, in Eboracensem provinciam irruptionem meditanti, jam pridem [10] filii primogenitum obsidem dederat, quod illi assisteret et pareret in omnibus; et ab eo vicissim sponsionem accepterat,

[1] *Deest* pro *in Ed. Pic.*
[2] In Anglia *omittunt Edd. priores.*
[3] Pro, *Edd. pr.*
[4] *Deest* transferendis *in Edd. priorib.*
[5] *Deest* suos *in Edd. pr.*
[6] Brab. *ad oram cod. nostri.*
[7] Westmaria, *Ed. Pic.*
[8] Tepidis, *Edd. priores.*
[9] Mubrai, *Edd. priores.*
[10] Filium, *Edd. priores.*

quod in quacunque [1] necessitate ejus nequaquam auxilio fraudaretur. Verum idem rex cum per dies aliquot apud Prudehou casso et suis magis noxio fuisset labore sudatum, audiens Eboracensis provinciæ contra se militiam excitari, Tino transmisso Northumbriæ fines invasit. Corrosum est a Scottis, quibus nulla esca [2] infamis, quicquid vel a canibus mandi potuit; et dum prædæ insisterent, jugulare senes, trucidare parvulos, eviscerare feminas, et hujusmodi quæ horrendum est [3] et dicere, genti inhumanæ et feris plus [4] efferæ voluptas fuit. Immisso [5] igitur miserabili provinciæ immanissimorum prædonum exer[212]citu barbarisque inhumane debacchantibus, rex ipse, excubante circa se honestiori mitiorique stipatus militia, vacare videbatur, observabatque circa castellum firmissimum, [6] Alnewich nominatum, ne forte manus ex eo militaris irrumpens, circumquaque grassantes perturbaret prædones.

De captione regis Scottorum.

CAP. XXXIII.

Rebus se ita circa [7] Aquilonales Angliæ partes habentibus, Eboracensis provinciæ regii proceres ingenue indignati quod Scotti fines Anglicos infestarent, apud Castellum-Novum super fluvium Tinum cum equitatu valido convenerunt. Urgente quippe negotio, pedestres non poterant copias congregare. Venerunt autem [8] illuc sexta sabbati, longo et laborioso itinere fatigati. Ibi sane cum in commune tractarent quid esset agendum, prudentiores allegarunt multum jam esse actum, cum rex Scottorum adventu eorum præcognito longius recesserit; suæ hoc mediocritati pro tempore debere sufficere, sibi non esse tutum, nec regi Anglorum utile ulterius progredi, ne forte paucitatem suam devorandam sicut escam panis infinitæ barbarorum multitudini expo[213]nere viderentur; sibi non esse plusquam quadringentos equites, in hostili vero exercitu plusquam [9] octoginta armatorum milia æstimari. Ad hæc ferventiores [10] responderunt hostes nequissimos modis omnibus esse impetendos; victoriam desperari non debere, quæ procul dubio justitiam sequeretur. Denique horum sententia prævalente (quia Deus sic voluit, ut voluntati magis divinæ quam [11] potentiæ prudentiæve humanæ ascriberetur eventus), [12] viri virtutis, in quibus erant præcipui Robertus de [13] Stutevilla, Ranulphus de [14] Glanvilla,

[1] *Sic cum MS. nostro distinguimus. Neque aliter Ed. Antuerp. At commate mox post* necessitate *utitur Picardus.*
[2] Infamis est, quicq., *Edd. pr.*
[3] Vel *pro* et *in Edd. priorib.*
[4] Efferæ facere voluptas f., *Edd. priores.*
[5] Ergo, *Edd. priores.*
[6] Alnewic *in proximo cap.*
[7] Aquilonares, *Edd. pr.*
[8] Illuc die sabbati, *Edd. priores.*
[9] Octo armatorum milia, *Edd. priores.*
[10] Respondentes, *Edd. pr.*
[11] Potentiæ vel humanæ prudentiæ ascriberetur, *Edd. pr.*
[12] Viri potentes, *MS. Pic.*
[13] Stotevilla, *MS. Pic.*
[14] Clanvilla, *MS. Pic.*

Bernardus de Baliolo, [1] Willelmus de Vesci, nocturna requie paulisper recreati summo mane progressi sunt, tanta velocitate, tanquam propellente vi aliqua, properantes, ut, quod armorum pondere gravatis minus tolerabile videbatur, ante horam quintam viginti quatuor milia passuum transmearent. Verum dum irent, tam densa, ut dicitur, eos operuit nebula, ut pene nescirent quo irent. Tum prudentiores periculosum iter causantes, certum sibi imminere discrimen allegarunt, nisi mox conversi redirent. Ad hoc Bernardus de Baliolo, vir nobilis atque magnanimus: "Recedat, inquit, qui voluerit; ego autem, etiamsi nullus sequatur, procedam et perpetuam mihi macu[214]lam non inuram." Cum ergo procederent, subito evanescente nebula, castellum de [2] Alnewic præ oculis habentes, id sibi tutum fore receptaculum, si hostes urgerent, læti censuerunt. Et ecce rex Scottorum, cum turma equitum circiter sexaginta aut paulo amplius, [3] haut procul in campis patentibus tanquam securus et nihil minus quam nostrorum irruptionem [4] metuens observabat, barbarorum multitudine cum parte equitatus, ad prædas late dispersa. Qui nimirum nostris conspectis, primo quidem eos de suis a præda redeuntibus esse ratus est; sed mox vexillis nostrorum caute notatis, tunc demum intellexit nostros jam ausos quod ipsos nec suspicari potuit esse ausuros. Attamen non est territus. Suo quippe tam vasto quamvis minus conglobato circumvallatus exercitu, conclusam illam paucitatem facile absorbendam esse a circumfusa multitudine nec ambigere dignabatur. Illico ferociter arma concutiens, [5] suosque verbo simul et exemplo accendens: "Modo, inquit, apparebit quis miles esse noverit." Primusque in hostem sequentibus ceteris irruens, mox a nostris excipitur; atque interfecto dejectus equo, cum tota fere turma sua capitur. Nam et qui per fugam evadere [6] potuere, eo capto fugam detrectantes, ut cum eo caperentur, in manus se hostium sponte de[215]dere. Quidam etiam nobiles, qui forte tunc aberant, sed non longe erant, agnito quod acciderat, cursu mox rapidissimo affuere; atque in manus hostium ingerentes se potius quam incidentes, dominico communicare periculo honestum duxere. Porro Rogerius de [7] Moubrai qui ibidem tunc aderat, rege capto elapsus evasit, refugitque in Scotiam. Nostri vero proceres nobilem cum gaudio prædam revehentes, Castellum-Novum, unde mane digressi fuerant, [8] vespere rediere; eamque ad dominum suum illustrem Anglorum regem opportune mittendam, apud Richemontem cautissime custodiri fecere. Gestum est hoc feliciter Deo propicio, anno a plenitudine temporis quo Verbum caro factum est .M. C. LXXIV., tertio idus Julii, die sabbati; et mox late vulgatum, atque in cunctis Anglorum provinciis grate susceptum est, campanis pro solemni lætitia [9] concrepantibus.

1 Guillelmus, *Edd. priores.*
2 *Vide ad finem cap. præcedentis.*
3 Haud, *Edd. pr.*
4 Intuens, *Edd. priores.*
5 Suoque, *Ed. Pic.*
6 Potuerunt, *Edd. pr.*
7 Mubrai, *Edd. pr.*
8 *Antea*, vesperi.
9 *Sic etiam MS. Pic. Antea*, crepantibus.

Ex Chronicis Gervasii, monachi Dorobornensis. (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X* [1].)

Col. 1424, l. 14. M.Clxxiij..... Ante mediam vero quadragesimam orta est discordia non modica inter regem Angliæ seniorem et filios ejus. Nam rex junior cum circa festivitatem omnium Sanctorum fuisset in Anglia, vocatus a patre invitus venit in Normanniam, et ex præcepto patris cum regina sua regem adiit Franciæ ut cum eo loqueretur. Rex enim desideravit eum et filiam suam jam reginam Angliæ videre. Inde ad patrem suum rex junior rediens, instinctu regis Francorum petivit a patre ut Angliam vel Normanniam ei assignaret; sed abnegata petitione, siluit indignans. Accidit præterea ut rex proponeret dare Johanni filio suo juniori tria castella in Normannia, danda scilicet in dotem filiæ comitis Huberti de Mauritania, quam desponsare debebat. Sed juvenis rex non solum contradixit, sed eciam a patre non petita licentia noctu recessit; fratres eciam ipsius Ricardus et Gaufridus aufugerunt. Regina vero Alienor cum mutata veste muliebri recessisset, apprehensa est et sub arta custodia reservata. Dicebatur enim quod ex machinatione ejus et consilio omnia hæc parabantur. Erat enim prudens femina valde, nobilibus orta natalibus, sed instabilis. Recedentibus itaque omnibus regis filiis, solus Johannes, qui puer parvulus erat, cum patre remansit. Rex autem Franciæ juvenem regem Angliæ gratiose suscipiens, in audientia procerum Galliæ juravit quod ei et fratribus suis contra fratrem suum indeficiens præbere vellet auxilium. Comes eciam Flandriæ Philippus suum pro posse spopondit auxilium juveni regi, faciens homagium cum juramento. Cui pro servitio suo promisit rex cum tota Cantia M. librarum redditum, castellum quoque de Rofa cum castello de Dovoria. Matthæus comes Boloniæ, frater comitis Flandriæ, suscepit in promissis pro homagio et servitio suo totam socam de Kirketonia in Lindisia, cum comitatu de Moretonia. Comiti Theobaldo promisit rex castellum de Ambatio et quingentas libras Andegavensium. In hunc modum cæteris fautoribus suis solis promissionibus satisfaciens, quamplures tam Angliæ quam Franciæ principes in patris odium et regni Angliæ excidium incitavit.....

[Col. 1426, l. 8]. Dum hæc itaque in Cantuariensem electum perfidorum machinaretur invidia, regem eciam Angliæ Henricum maligna conspiratio non reliquit immunem. Nam conjurati illi cum milibus suis intraverunt in Normanniam, vastantes et prædantes, et omnia pessumdare gestientes. Sed cum quidam eventus prosperi vesaniam illorum ad majora facinora perpetranda stimularent, gloriosus ille comes Flandriæ quodammodo subnervatus est. Nam frater ejus Mathæus comes Boloniæ, dum in regis odium castellum de Driencurt obsideret, a quodam arcubalista letaliter confossus, post modicum obiit et sepultus est. Verum ne Anglia propria quiete gauderet vel alienis insultaret ærumpnis, circa festum sancti Lucæ missus est in Angliam junior Rodbertus comes Leicestriæ et cum eo nonnulla Flandrensium milia, et a comite Hugone Bigot sunt recepti. Capto autem de facili castello de Hageneth, cum Leicestriam tenderent, in territorio sancti Edmundi mense Octobri occurrerunt eis milites regni, Reginaldum Cornubiæ comitem et comitem de Arundello sequentes; a

[1] The greater part of this fragment is to be read also in the *Recueil des Hist. des Gaules*, vol. XIII, p. 136, D — p. 138, E.

quibus perterritus cum Flandrensibus suis comes Rodbertus, fugam iniit. Sed captus est ipse et uxor sua, et Flandrensium tria milia vel eo amplius trucidati perierunt, et digne: nam Flandrenses lupi Anglicanæ copiæ ab olim invidentes, naturali negotio, textoria arte dimissa, Angliam se jam cepisse jactitabant; sed ante conflictus aliquos trucidati, in ea quam vorare cogitaverant terra putruerunt. Cæteri vero quos comes Hugo Bigot in castellis suis receperat, abire permissi, solam vitam utcunque reportantes, in Flandriam reversi sunt.

Rex Angliæ Henricus, solennitate Natalis Domini apud Cadomum celebrata, cepit inducias a rege Francorum Lodovico, a festo sancti Hylarii usque ad clausum Pascha, quia ad ipsius nutum cæteri complices movebantur. Medio tempore, scilicet die sanctorum Fabiani et Sebastiani, obiit piæ memoriæ Willielmus Turbo episcopus Norwicensis. Interea Ricardus Cantuariensis electus, nonnullis laboribus et expensis fatigatus, Romam pervenit, ibidemque tam electionis quam consecrationis suæ fortes repperit adversarios. Quidam enim pro rege seniore cum electo stabant, quidam vero pro rege juniore in contrarium nitebantur. Sed disperso rumore simulato de concordia regum, cum electus jam quasi desperatus regredi simularet, a domino papa Alexandro revocatus est, et electione confirmata consecratus est ab ipso papa dominica post Pascha quæ canitur ad introitum *Misericordia Domini*..... [Col. 1427, l. 1.] Dum itaque Cantuariensis archiepiscopus repedaret, et inter reges et principes nostros omnis spes pacis deperisset, perfidorum invaluit rabies, et in omnibus terris regis Angliæ proditorum furor incanduit. Nam rex Franciæ et comes Flandriæ milites electos miserunt in Angliam, quos ex mandato regis junioris comes Hugo in suis recepit castellis. Willielmus eciam rex Scotiæ parti favens regis junioris, cum multo exercitu Walensium et Scottorum Northimbriam vastavit. Nulli ætati, sexui, vel ordini, gladius ipsius pepercit: nam Scotti et Walenses mulieres prægnantes findebant, et infantes lancearum cuspidibus suscipiebant, clericos et sacerdotes in ipsis ecclesiis trucidabant, et alia in hunc modum enormia, sicut rumor erat, faciebant. Ipse tandem rex castellum de Alnewic obsedit. Comes vero Hugo Bigod civitatem Norwicensem cum prædicta militia sibi destinata effregit, viros in ea et mulieres interfecit, et cum præda multa nimis recessit. Rex eciam junior et comes Flandriæ conjurati quod in Angliam venirent, naves multas et exercitum copiosum ad mare convenire fecerunt. Rex Franciæ Normannos infestare, vel si quid temptarent, compescere decrevit. Rex Angliæ ab omnibus fere comitibus, fidelibus et infidelibus suis solus relictus est, adeo ut vix aliquem haberet ex omnibus caris suis cui se committeret vel suæ mentis archana fidenter revelaret; extranei et non sui sequebantur eum, non ob personæ ipsius dilectionem, sed ob pecuniæ multæ, quam effundere cogebatur, insatiabilem cupiditatem. Undique igitur coartatus, et de transmarinis terris suis quasi in desperationem ductus, in Angliam celeriter navigavit, ut eam saltem solam sibi reservaret. Rex itaque in Angliam veniens in initio mensis Julii, et felici sibi ductus consilio, omnia regni negotia quasi postposuit, et corde pœnitenti Cantuariam ad sanctum Thomam peregre profectus est. Feria igitur sexta, sexto idus Julii, in veste lanea, nudis pedibus, ab ecclesia S. Dunstani, quæ longe extra urbem posita est, usque ad tumbam sancti Thomæ martyris perveniens, ibique diutius et devote procumbens, ab omnibus qui astabant episcopis, abbatibus, et monachis singulis ecclesiæ Christi, voluntate spontanea, verberatus est. Perseveravit in orationibus ibidem juxta sanctum martyrem tota die illa et nocte, cibum non sumpsit, nec ad requisita naturæ egressus est; sed ut venit, ita permansit. Non tapetum, non aliquid hujusmodi sibi supponi permisit. Post matutinas

laudes circuivit altaria superioris ecclesiæ et corpora sanctorum inibi jacentium, et denuo ad tumbam sancti Thomæ in criptam reversus est. Lucescente autem die sabbati, missam petiit et audivit. Sancta denique martyris aqua potatus et ampulla insignitus, lætabundus a Cantuaria recessit, et dominica sequenti Londoniam pervenit. Ipso autem die sabbati quo rex a Cantuaria recessit, Willielmus rex Scotiæ miserat commilitones suos ad prædandum, paucis secum in obsidione castelli de Alnewic sodalibus retentis. Cui cum ex inproviso superveniret exercitus Eboracensis, et ipse putaret socios cum præda reversos quos habuit adversarios, subito circumseptus ab eis et captus est. Reliqui de suis qui aderant, trucidati sunt vel fuga collapsi. Rex vero junior et comes Flandriæ cæterique conjurati, audientes quod rex Henricus in Angliam [col. 1428] abisset, mutato consilio, relictis navibus redierunt, et Rothomagum una cum rege Franciæ obsederunt. Qui dum exterius ferociter oppugnarent, et cives interius viriliter resisterent, Hugo Bigod cæterique adversarii humiliter se regi Henrico subdiderunt. Rex autem milites illos electos et nobiles quos juvenis rex in Angliam præmiserat, pacifice permisit repatriare. In tribus itaque septimanis post peregrinationem regis bellorum strepitus in Anglia sedati sunt. Rex igitur sui non immemor, corde et ore Deum et sanctum Thomam laudans et benedicens, circa festum sancti Laurentii transfretavit, ut Rothomagensibus obsessis subveniret. Duxit autem secum trans mare captivos suos, regem scilicet Scotiæ, comitem Leicestriæ, comitem Cestriæ, comitem de Ferrers.....

Ex chronico cui titulus:

BENEDICTUS ABBAS PETROBURGENSIS DE VITA ET GESTIS HENRICI II ET RICARDI I. E codice Ms. in Bibliotheca Harleiana descripsit et nunc primum edidit Thomas Hearnius. Accesserunt alia. Duobus tom. (8°). Oxonii, e Theatro Sheldoniano, MDCCXXXV [1].

MCLXXIII.

P. 46. PRIMA DISSENSIO INTER PATREM ET FILIUM.

Prima indignatio filiorum

Comes vero Maurianæ scire voluit apud Limoges quid et quantum
contra patrem B. 2.
prædictus Johannes, filius regis, (cui filia ipsius, ut supradictum est, data
Rex vero B. 2. deest B. 2. ei B. 2.
fuerat) haberet de [2] terra patris sui. *Et rex* voluit *ei* concedere et dare
un. B. 2.
castellum de Chin*one*, et castellum de Loudun, et castellum de Mirabel,

[1] The same abstract, given here after Hearne's edition, is also to be found for the greater part, in the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. XIII, p. 150, l. 3 — p. 160, l. 5.

[2] B. 1, f. 46.

deest B. 2. 2 B. 2. 1
cum *omnibus* pertinentiis suis; sed juvenis rex contradicebat, et nullo
deest B. 2.
modo hoc fratri suo concedere voluit, nec a patre suo *hoc* fieri permisit. Ipse enim jam moleste ferebat quod pater suus aliquam terrarum suarum ei assignare noluit, ubi ipse cum regina sua morari posset. Ipse enim a patre suo petiit sibi donari Normanniam, vel Angliam, vel Andegaviam, et hanc petitionem fecit per consilium regis Franciæ, et per consilium comitum et baronum Angliæ et Nor[47]manniæ, qui patrem suum odio habebant. Et ipse ex eo tempore causas quærebat et opportunitatem, ut a
patris suí B. 2.
patre suo recederet; et jam animum suum a voluntate *ipsius* ita declinavit, quod nichil cum eo pacifice loqui potuit. Itaque peractis negotiis suis apud Limoges, rex, quam citius potuit, in Normanniam ire festinavit, et rex filius suus cum eo. Appropinquante autem media Quadragesima,
ad Chinonem B. 2. re B. 2.
cum *Achinonem* venissent, rex ibi nocte illa *per*mansit; et filius suus, non accepta ab eo licentia, ulterius processit, ita quod in crastino venit usque
ad B. 2.
Alenzun, et die sequenti usque Argentomium. Pater vero ejus illum secutus est, et nocte illa qua filius suus fuit apud Argentomium, jacuit ipse apud Alenzun. In illa autem nocte circa galli cantum, juvenis rex cum privata familia sua ad regem Franciæ perrexit, octava idus Martii,
desunt B. 2. ejus B. 2.
feria 5ta *ante Quadragesimam*. Rex vero, audito quod filius *suus* recessisset, timuit valde insidias Francorum, et cum festinatione castella sua quæ erant in confinio Franciæ, adiit, et ea munivit custodibus et victu et [1] fosso. Pervenit autem usque Gisortium, et illud (quam melius potuit)
deest B. 2.
munivit; et inde iter suum fecit per castella *sua* Normanniæ, et statim mandavit per [2] litteras suas castellanis suis Angliæ, Aquitanniæ et Andegaviæ et Britanniæ, ut munirent ca[48]stella sua et bene custodirent, significans eis rei eventum.

Hujus autem nefandæ proditionis auctores extiterunt Lodowicus rex Franciæ, et (ut a quibusdam dicebatur) ipsa Alienor regina Angliæ, et Radulfus de Faia. Prædicta quidem regina eo tempore habuit in custodia sua Ricardum ducem Aquitaniæ et Gaufridum comitem Britanniæ, filios
e B 2.
suos; et misit eos in Franciam ad juvenem regem fratrem *ill*orum, ut
deest B. 2.
cum eo essent contra *regem* patrem ipsorum. Tunc vero adimpletum est illud Merlini vaticinium, qui ait: "Evigilabunt rugientis catuli, et post-"positis nemoribus, infra mænia civitatum venabuntur; stragem non "minimam ex obstantibus facient, et linguas taurorum abscident; colla "rugientium onerabunt catenis, et avita tempora renovabunt."
desunt B. 2.
Hoc vaticinavit Merlinus de filiis regis Henrici, *filii Matildis imperatricis;* et vocans eos rugientis catulos, significavit illos insurrecturos
gu B. 2.
contra patrem et dominum suum, et contra ipsum *w*erram moturos. Post discessum vero juvenis regis, Ricardus Barre, qui sigi [3] llum ipsius

[1] F. fossato.
[2] B. 1, f. 46, b.
[3] B. 2, f. 58.

ei B. 2.
portabat, ad regem patrem ejus rediit, et tradidit *illi* sigillum filii sui, quod ille ei ad custodiendum commiserat; et illud recipiens, præcepit
2 B. 2. 1
bene custodiri. Similiter servientes, quos ipse posuerat in domo regis filii sui, ad illum redierunt, adducentes secum carectas et sumarios, cum hernasio regis [49] qui recesserat. Rex vero noluit illos secum retinere, sed remisit eos ad regem filium suum cum toto hernasio suo. Et præterea misit ei per illos vasa argentea et equos et pannos, et præcepit eis ut
eos B. 2.
ei fideliter servirent. Sed cum ad eum venissent, statim fecit *illos* qui cum eo remanere volebant, jurare ei fidelitatem contra patrem suum; illos autem qui hoc sacramentum [1] facere nolebant, secum retinere no-
deest B. 2. El B. 2.
luit, sed abire permisit: scilicet Walterum capellanum *suum*, et *Aelwardum* camerarium suum, et Willelmum Blundum hostiarium suum; et ipsi ad regem redeuntes, cum eo remanserunt [2].

Interim Lodowicus, rex Franciæ, satis humanum se exhibuit juveni
effici novum
regi et fratribus suis, et illis qui cum eis venerant; et statim *fecit fieri ei*
sigillum fecit ei B. 2.
novum sigillum, per quod ille subscriptas donationes confirmavit. Nam
ejus B. 2.
rex Franciæ, convocatis Filippo comite Flandriæ, et Mathæo fratre *illius*
y B. 2. Te B. 2.
comite Boloniæ, et Henrico comite de Trois, et *Theo*baldo comite Blesensi, et comite Rodberto fratre regis Franciæ, et comite Stephano, et ceteris comitibus et baronibus Franciæ, et præterea omnibus archiepiscopis et episcopis et clero et populo regni Franciæ, magnum celebravit concilium apud Parisius; et in ipso concilio ipsemet juravit, tactis sacrosanctis Ewangeliis, quod juvenem regem et fratres suos secundum posse suum juvaret contra patrem illorum, ad werram suam ma[50]nutenendam et ad regnum Angliæ perquirendum. Similiter fecit prædictos co-
tamen B. 2.
mites et barones Franciæ idem sacramentum jurare ei; accepta *prius* a juvene rege et a fratribus suis securitate et sacramentis quod a rege Franciæ non recederent, nec cum patre suo aliquam pacem facerent, nisi per ipsum et per barones Franciæ. In eodem concilio juvenis rex recepit homagium et fidelitatem a Filippo comite Flandriæ, et dedit ei pro homa-
suo et fidelitate B. 2. libratas reddituum B. 2.
gio *et fidelitate sua* mille *libras redditus* in Anglia per annum, et totam
o B. 2. u B. 2.
Cantiam cum castello de Duvere et castello Rofensi. Similiter recepit
desunt B. 2.
ipse homagium et fidelitatem a Mathæo *fratre comitis Flandriæ*, comite
desunt B. 2.
Boloniæ; et concessit ei *pro homagio et fidelitate sua*, totam socam de

[1] B. 1, f. 47.
deest quædam vox.

[2] Perdidit itaque rex ille regis filius mentem, perdidit et sensum, fugat innocentem, persequitur genitorem, usurpat imperium, invadit regnum. Et ipse unus est reus, et universus contra patrem suum conspirat exercitus. Unius dementia dementes efficit multos: ipse enim sitit sanguinem patris, cruorem appetit genitoris. *Hæc ex* B. 2.

un B. 2. æ B. 2.
Kirketonia in Lindesia, et comitatum Moretaniæ. Similiter recepit fide-
a comite Teobald B. 2. deest, quinquaginta B. 2.
litatem [1] et homagium *comitis Theobaldi*, et concessit *ei quingentas* libratas redditiuum Andegavensium, et castellum de Ambasio, cum toto jure
2 B. 2. 1
quod ipse calumpniatus fuit in Turonica; et clamavit ei quietum totum
fuerint B. 2.
jus, quod rex Angliæ pater suus et ipse calumpniati *fuerunt* in Castello-
2 B. 2. 1
Reginaldi. Omnes vero has donationes confirmavit eis sigillo suo novo,
præcepit B. 2.
quod rex [2] Franciæ *fecit* ei fieri. Præterea alias fecit do[51]nationes, quas eodem sigillo confirmavit. Concessit enim Willelmo regi Scotiæ, pro ho-
deest B. 2. iam B. 2. deest B. 2.
magio *suo* et servitio suo, totam Nothumberland*am* usque *ad* Tinam. Et concessit David, fratri regis Scotiæ, pro homagio et servitio suo, comitatum
dun B. 2. g B. 2. Grantebrigesiram B. 2.
de Hunten*donia;* et in au mentum, dedit ei totam *Cantebrigesir*iam.
deest B. 2. deest B. 2. Eya B. 2.
Et concessit *comiti* Hugoni Bigot totum honorem de *Eia*, in feudo et hereditate tenendum, et castellum Norwicense in custodia sibi et heredibus suis in perpetuum. Et alias plures fecit donationes quas prætermittimus, ad historiam transeuntes.

3
Instante igitur sollempnitate Paschali, Henricus rex Angliæ, filius
1 B. 2. 2
Mathildis imperatricis, tenuit curiam suam apud Alenzun; et statim post
hæc sunt nomina eorum,
clausum Pascha, exarsit nefanda proditorum rabies, *quorum nomina*
qui B. 2. desunt B. 2. Henrico B. 2. 4 B. 2. 1 2 3
hæc sunt; et ipsi cum juvene rege tenuerunt contra patrem suum:
en B. 2.
Johannes Talevaz comes de Puntif [3], comes de Mel*lito*, comes de Auco,
vil B. 2.
camerarius de Tanker*villa*, Willelmus Patricius senior, Rodbertus de
desunt B. 2. m? desunt B. 2.
Munford, *Thomas de Culu cis, Amauri Torellus, Willelmus de Tobovilla,*
desunt B. 2.
Gillebertus de Tilleris, Eudo filius Ernisii, Willel[52]*mus filius Ernisii,*
desunt B. 2. Aia B. 2. r B. 2. Herneï B. 2.
Rodbertus filius Ernisii, Radulfus de *Haya*, Oliver*us* filius *Ernesii*,
desunt B. 2. H B. desunt B. 2. n?
Hasculfus de Sancto-Vlario, Rodbertus de Angervilla, Rodbertus Bussum,
desunt B. 2. desunt B. 2.
Gillebertus de Albemaria, Bernardus de Feritate, *Rodbertus de Sablul,*
desunt B. 2. desunt B. 2.
Gwido de Curtiran, Hugo de Silli, *et Rodbertus de Blé, Hardewinus de*
desunt B. 2.
Fugerai, Mathæus de Lagailla, Philippus de Carcere, Gaufridus de

[1] B. 1, f. 47, b.
[2] B. 2, f. 58, b.
[3] Et ipse habuit castellum de Essal, et castellum de Sancto-Remigio des Plais, et castellum de Muscecuard, et castellum de Mamerce, B. 2.

m? desunt B. 2. abraduntur
Brullun, Vivianus de Munrevel, Willelmus de P....., Gwenis de
desunt B. 2.
Palvel, Petrus de Sancto-Juliano, Fulco Ribule[1], *Rodbertus de Tresgorce,*
desunt B. 2. cal B. 2.
Willelmus filius Rogerii, Willelmus Mares*callus*, Willelmus de Diva,
desunt B. 2. desunt B. 2.
Radulfus de Chainai, Gerardus Talebot, *Willelmus de Tintiniac, Gau-*
desunt B. 2
fridus filius Hamonis, Radulfus de Albemaria, Johannes de Lineris, Adam de Ikobo, Petrus de Andevilla, Willelmus de Cauveni, Hugo de Mota, Salomon Hostiarius, Johannes de Praellis, Rodbertus Gerebert, Landricus de? Orbec, Ricardus abbas de Turnai, Rodbertus de Moreta-
m? desunt B. 2.
tania, Willelmus Hagullun, Jordanus Ridel, *Symon de Marisco, Hugo*
l B. 2. y B. 2. desunt B. 2.
de Diva, Saerus de Quinci juvenis, *Balderi*[53]*cus de Baudemunt, Wil-*
Leginan B. 2. et multi alii B. 2.
lelmus de Falaise, Gaufridus de Leginnan, Gaufridus Chouet, Willelmus
deest B. 2.
Talewazs, Guido de Lezinnan. Et sciendum *est* quod hi supradicti milites cum juvene rege in Franciam recesserunt, et cum eo reversi fide-
suo B. 2.
litatem juraverunt regi, patri *ipsius*.

Præterea hæc sunt nomina illorum, qui post eum abierunt:[2] *Hugo de Sancta-Maura, Willelmus de Sancta-Maura, Joscelinus de Sancta-Maura, Petrus de Munrabel, Joibertus de la Guirche, Jacelinus de Manleio, Gaufridus de Haia, Rodbertus de Sablol, Gwido de Curtirant, Gaufridus de Lavardin filius comitis de Vendomia, Radulfus de Fulgeriis, Gwiounou de Ancenis, Rollandus filius Ernisii, Osbertus de Praellis, Walleranus de Hyveri, Josselinus Crispin, comes de Everous senior, Symon de Lezszai, Chales de Rocheforda, comes de Engolismo Bucherius,*
stibio script. in marg. ?
(Radulfus de Mil comnes) Gaufridus de Rancona, Willelmus de Oveneia, Willelmus Archiepiscopus.

Itaque post clausum Pascha (ut supradictum est), exarsit nefanda proditorum rabies. Ipsi enim, furore diabolico debacchati, circumquaque
in B. 2.
devastabant igne et gladio terram regis Angliæ in Normannia et Aqui-
in B. 2.
tannia *et* Andegavia et Britannia. Procedente autem tem[54]pore circa
deest B. 2. Ph B. 2.
festum *sanctorum* apostolorum Petri et Pauli, *Filippus* comes Flandriæ intravit cum magno exercitu in Normanniam, et sine aliqua difficultate
Aubemarl B. 2. eo B. 2.
cepit villam et castellum de *Albemarla;* et captus fuit in *ea* Willelmus
Aubenni B. 2.
comes *Abbeni*, et multi milites et servientes cum eo. Et statim divulgata est[3] captio illa per circumjacentes provincias. Pervenit et in Angliam, et

[1] B. 1, f. 48.

[2] Radulfus de Mallium, comes Eudo, Gymarus de Liuns, Petrus de Munrabel, Jocelinus de Malleio, Chales de Rochesford, comes de Engolisma, Willelmus Archiepiscopus, et alii innumerabiles. B. 2.

[3] B. 1, f. 48, b.

pro B. 2.
excitavit furorem perfidæ gentis Angliæ; tunc enim erupit in Anglia vesana proditorum rabies, quæ prius sub velamento fidelitatis latebatur.
3 B. 2. 1 2
Hujus autem nefandæ proditionis auctores extiterunt in Anglia, Willelmus
deest B. 2. y B 2.
rex Scociæ *et* David frater ejus, Rodbertus junior comes Leicestriæ,
s B. 2.
Rodbertus comes de Ferrer*is*, comes Hugo Bigot, Hugo comes Cestriæ,
m B. 2. desunt B. 2.
Rogerus de Mu*l*brai, *et Nigellus, et Rodbertus filius ejus, Hamo de Masci,*
To B. 2. camp B. 2. es? desunt B. 2.
*Tho*mas de Mus*champ*, Rodbertus de Lundr , *Gaufridus de Costentin,*
l B. 2. Gervasius Painel B. 2.
Richardus de Morv*illa*, ...
* contra regem Angliæ B. 2 na B. 2. et B. 2.

Willelmus rex Scotiæ habuit et tenuit * castellum de Strivel*inia*, cas-
Godewrda B. 2. w B. 2.
tellum Puellarum, castellum de *Geddewurda*, castellum de Bere*u*ic, cas-
c B. 2.
tellum de Rokesbur*ga*, et castellum de Anant, et castellum de Logh-
[55] maban, quæ fuerunt castella Rodberti de Brus. David, frater regis
deest B. 2.
Scotiæ, habuit castellum de Huntendona. Comes Leicestriæ *tenuit* castel-
et B. 2. de Leicestria B. 2.
lum de Munsorel, castellum de Grobi, castellum *Leicestriæ*. Comes de
rs e B. 2. t B. 2.
[1] Ferrer*is* tenuit castellum de Tut*i*sbiria, castellum de Dufel*da*. Comes
heia B. 2.
Hugo Bigot tenuit castellum de Fremigham, castellum de Bung*ehia*.
de Cestria B. 2. de Mumbrai B. 2. deest B. 2.
Comes Cestriæ tenuit castellum *Cestriæ*. Rogerus *Mulbrai tenuit* castel-
h
lum de Treske, castellum de Males*s*ard, castellum de Insula. Hamo de
deest B. 2. Dufham B. 2.
Masci *tenuit* castellum de *Duneham*, castellum de Ullerwda. Gaufridus
a B. 2. deest B. 2 vil B. 2.
de Costentin *tenuit* castellum de Stokeporta. Richardus de Mor*villa* te-
deest B. 2. w B. 2. 3 4 B. 2. 1 2
nuit castellum de Lau*u*edra. Præterea in Anglia multi erant, qui prave et ficte tenuerunt cum rege patre juvenis regis, tam clerici quam laici.

Circa octabas vero apostolorum Petri et Pauli, juvenis rex et fratres sui venerunt [2] in Normanniam cum comite Flandriæ et comite Boloniæ;
d B. 2.
et obsederunt castellum de Driencur*t*, quod infra 15 dies sequentes
To B. 2. ejus B. 2.
Doulfus-Bardulfus et *Tho*mas frater *ipsius*, qui fuerunt inde constabu-
2 B. 2. 1 deest B. 2.
larii, reddiderunt eis; vulnerato prius ibidem *usque* ad mortem Mathæo
deest B. 2.
comite Boloniæ, qui [56] *statim* postquam castellum redditum fuerat,

[1] B. 2, f. 59.
[2] B. 1, f. 49.

desunt B. 2.
in Flandriam delatus obiit. Defuncto itaque Mathæo *comite Boloniæ*,
deest B. 2. Cha B. 2.
Petrus frater ejus, *qui* electus metropolitanæ ecclesiæ de *Cambrai*, mallens seculo militare quam Deo, per consilium Philippi fratris sui comitis Flandriæ (qui sine propinquiore herede erat) reliquit electionem illam quæ de ipso facta fuit, et fecit se armis militaribus honorari, immo one-
2 B. 2. 1
rari. In loco vero electionis ipsius, successit Rodbertus præpositus de
desunt B. 2. Araz B. 1.
Ars, qui et electus *erat ecclesiæ* de *Arrat;* sed paulo post, meritis suis exigentibus, eodem anno, ab inimicis suis interfectus est.

DE INGRESSU LODOWICI REGIS IN NORMANNIAM B. 2.

v B. 2.
Similiter autem circa octa*b*as apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Lodowicus rex
1 B. 2. 3 2 in B. 2.
Franciæ cum magno exercitu intravit Normanniam, et obsedit Vernolium,
3 B. 2. 1 2
et statim fecit fieri machinas bellicas, et cotidie circumquaque fecerunt insultum in eo. Sed Hugo de Lasci et Hugo de Bellocampo, qui inde constabularii erant, villam Vernolii viriliter et constanti animo defenderunt, cum militibus et servientibus qui intus erant; nec regem Franciæ nec machinas
ciebat B. 2.
suas timebant. Nam rex Franciæ cum suo magno exercitu parum proficere *potuit*, quia jam per mensem ibi moram fecerat, et in nullo eis nocere potuit,
a B. 2.
nisi ex parte illa ubi tentoria sua fixa [57] fuer*u*nt: ibi enim positæ erant
n B. 2.
machinæ suæ bellicæ. Erant quidem infra Verno*l*ium tres burgi præter
eorum B. 2. ter B. 2.
castellum, et unusquisque *illorum* separatus erat ab altero, et in clusus
unus vero eorum B. 2.
forti muro [1] et fosso aqua pleno; *et unus illorum* dicebatur magnus Burgus, et ibi extra murum fixa erant tentoria regis Franciæ, et machinæ illius bellicæ. In fine autem illius mensis, cum burgenses de Burgo vidissent quod victus et necessaria eis defecissent, nec haberent quid [2] manducassent; compulsi fame et inopia, inducias triduanas ceperunt a rege
3 B. 2. 2 1 desunt B. 2.
Franciæ, ut libere irent et exirent ad regem Angliæ, *dominum suum*, propter succursum; et nisi infra sequens triduum ab eo succursum habe-
ten B. 2.
rent, redderent ei Burgum illum [3] quam *hab*ebant. Et statutus est eis dies peremtorius, in vigilia sancti Laurentii; et dederunt inde obsides
2 B. 2. 1
regi Franciæ. Et ipse juravit eis, et per ejus præceptum comes Rodbertus
ejus B. 2. 2 B. 2. 1 2 Te B. 2. B. 2. 1
frater *ipsius*, et comes Henricus, et comes *The*obaldus, et Willelmus

[1] F. fossato.
[2] B. 1, f. 49, b.
[3] *Sic Apogr. Wanl.* L. quem.

archiepiscopus Senonensis, eis in verbo veritatis [1] promisit quod, si statuta die Burgum illum reddiderint, rex Franciæ redderet eis obsides
iet B. 2. t B. 2.
suos, et nullum damnum eis fa[58]*ceret*, nec ab aliis fieri permitte*ret*. Instabat itaque dies ille peremtorius; et rex [2] Angliæ, congregato exercitu
erat B. 2.
suo, quem de Normannia habere pot*uit*, venit usque Concas, ducens
ac B. 2.
secum Braib*an*cenos suos, de quibus plus quam decem mille habuit, et
i B. 2.
in crastino ibidem moram fecit, expectans partem exercitus sui, quæ nondum venerat [3]. In sequenti autem die, scil. sexto idus Augusti, feria quarta, rex Angliæ præliaturus cum rege Franciæ, venit cum exercitu
ul B. 2.
suo ad castellum de Bret*uil*, quod tunc habuit in manu sua (nam comes Leicestriæ, ad regem Franciæ fugiens, sine custode reliquit illud); et ibi in eminentiori loco rex construxit acies suas bellicas ex equitibus et
ibi B. 2. 6 B. 2. 5
peditibus. Erant autem ibidem cum rege duces exercitus comes Willelmus
7 8 vil B. 2. 1 2 3 4 Johannes comes de Vendome B. 2.
de Mande*villa*, Willelmus comes de Arundel, *comes de Wendouma*, Ri-
deest B. 2.
cardus *de* Humet constabularius, Ricardus filius comitis, Ricardus de
ún B. 2.
Vernun, Jordanus Tess*u*, Hen[59]ricus de Novo-Burgo. Ordinatis itaque
de B. 2.
aciebus, Willelmus comes Arundel, vir strenuus et bellicosus, stans in medio cohortum, sic ait:

desunt B. 2.

ORATIO COMITIS DE ARUNDEL.

æ B. 2. 3 B. 2. 2

"Proceres Normanni*genæ* clarissimi, meminisse vos vestri nominis et
1
"generis præliaturos decet. Perpendite ergo qui et [4] contra quos et ubi

[1] F. promiserunt.

[2] B. 2, f. 59, b.

[3] Et hæc sunt nomina comitum et baronum qui tenuerunt cum Henrico rege Angliæ contra filios suos: Ricardus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, Rogerus Eboracensis, cum omnibus episcopis Angliæ; archiepiscopus Rotomagensis, et omnes episcopi Normanniæ, præter Arnulfum episcopum Lexoviensem, qui receptabat parentes suos malefactores. Et in Anglia, Reginaldus comes Cornubiæ, Hamelinus comes Warennæ, Willelmus comes de Aubemarl, Willelmus comes de Arundel, Robertus comes de Gloucestre, comes de Salesbirie, Willelmus de Mandevil comes Exexæ, Henricus de Lasci, Willelmus de Vesci, Heveraddus de Ros, Galfredus Trussebut, Ricardus Luci, Ricardus de Humez et omnes filii et fratres ejus, Robertus de Stutevil et filii et fratres ejus, Odelinus d'Umfravil, Robertus de Brus et Adam Brus, Ricardus Luvetof, Ricardus de Albeni, Willelmus de Aubeni, Humfridus de Boun, Bertramnus de Verdun, Johannes constabularius Cestriæ, Gaufridus Lincolniæ electus, Ricardus comes de Stringuil, [59] Philippus de Kima, Simon
E?
frater ejus, Simon comes de Norhamtun, Gwido de Ver, David et Cuayn reges Walliæ. *Hæc ex* B. 2.

[4] B. 1, f. 50.

a B. 2. 1 deest B. 2.
"bellum gerere debeatis. Nemo vobis impune restitit: ferax *enim* Anglia,
"et dives Apulia, et Jerusalem famosa, et insignis Antiochia, vires vestras
"expertæ, vobis succubuerunt. Nunc autem rex Franciæ et sui, quos
"semper in patria sua petivimus et vicimus, in patriam nostram, ritu
dolor B. 2. valu B. 2.
"transverso ebrii et dementes, proh *pudor*, con*volav*erunt. Attollite
"igitur animos, viri elegantes, et adversus nequissimum hostem freti
"præsentia, immo virtute Dei, exurgite. Tegat vobis galea capud,
"lorica pectus, ocreæ crura, totumque corpus clypeus, et ubi feriat
"hostis nudum non inveniat. Et procedentes adversus nequissimos hos-
"tes, quid dubitamus? An numerum? Sed non tam numerus multorum,
ergo B. 2.
"quam virtus paucorum bellum efficit. Quid *igitur* confert vobis gloria
"parentelæ, exercitatio sollempnis, disciplina militaris, nisi plures vincatis
desunt B. 2.
"*cum sitis* pauciores illis? Præterea consi[60]derate in cordibus vestris
"quam injuste et contra præceptum Dei rex Franciæ temeritatem et er-
"rorem filiorum invictissimi regis Angliæ, domini nostri, contra eum et
"voluntatem ipsius fovet. [1] Ponite ergo in Domino Deo spem vestram,
deest B. 2.
"et pugnate viriliter; quia Cristus, filius Dei vivi, qui factus est *obediens*
"patri usque ad mortem, in mentibus filiorum regis domini nostri hodie
"filialem obedientiam inspirabit; vel ostendens se Deum nolentem ini-
"quitatem, hodie puniet scelus perfidorum Francigenarum, qui in tantum
"illos seduxerunt, quod, ordine humanitatis oblito et naturæ lege soluta,
"insurrexerunt filii in parentem in genitorem geniti. Præterea unum
deest B. 2.
"*est*, fortissimi proceres, quod vobis firmiter ingerere volo, quod nulla
2 B. 2. 1 3
"potest esse fugientibus reversio. Nam ita circundati sumus undique
cuique B. 2.
"hostibus nostris; et ideo, *quia* nulla spes fugæ est, hoc solum superest
"ut vincamus vel occumbamus. Sed Deus omnipotens, qui judicat populos
in B. 2.
"in æquitate, *re*spiciat nos hodie oculis misericordiæ suæ; et qui per
"servum suum David superbiam Goliæ confregit, ipse conterat hodie
"[2] superbiam inimicorum nostrorum." Et sonuerunt montes et colles:
"Amen, amen."
voce B. 2.

Vixque finierat, et omnes, extensis in cœlum manibus, terribili *clamore* fugam abjuraverunt. Et adhuc illis clamantibus, ecce Willelmus Senonensis archiepiscopus, et cum eo comes Rodbertus frater regis Franciæ,
Te B. 2.
[61] et comes *The*obaldus, qui semper regi Angliæ speciem dilectionis sub velamento iniquitatis et perfidiæ prætendebat, venerunt ad eum, missi a rege Franciæ; dicentes ei quod rex Franciæ cum eo pacifice loqui
deest B. 2.
vellet, de pace tractanda inter illum et filios *suos*. Credidit ergo eis rex, et concessit eis inducias usque in crastinum. Et ceperunt colloquium inter ipsum et regem Franciæ et filios suos ibidem in crastinum; et rever-

[1] B. 2, f. 60.
[2] B. 1, f. 50, b.

chas B. 2. desunt B. 2.
sus est rex cum exercitu suo usque ad Con*cas ad castra sua*, unde recesserat. Mane autem facto, iterum venit rex cum exercitu suo ad locum colloquii; sed magna pars exercitus sui animosior erat ad bellandum die præcedenti, quam tunc fuerat. Namque pedites, onerati armis et longo itinere fatigati, cœperunt intra se dicere: "Semper nocuit dif-"ferre paratis: quare enim heri non pugnavimus, cum minus fatigati
2 B. 2. 1
"essemus?" Sed alii, qui arma sæpius tractare solebant, dixerunt hoc cautius factum fuisse: sicque plebs per diversa trahebatur. Et jam appropinquante hora diei nona, cum jam hora colloquii præterisset, nec rex Franciæ nec aliquis ex parte sua ad colloquium venisset; rex Angliæ et sui versus Vernolium respicientes, viderunt fumum teterrimum, et post fumum flammas ignium consurgere. Et stupor apprehendit eos, mirantes quid hoc esset. Illa autem die erat dies peremtorius, in quo ex necessario oportebat prædictos burgenses succursum habere, vel Burgum (ut supradictum est) tradere regi Franciæ. Cumque hora statuta advenisset, et succursum [62] non haberent, reddiderunt regi Franciæ prædictum[1] Burgum: quem ipse suscipiens, securitatem quam ipse et sui eis fide et sacramentis (ut jam diximus) interpositis, promiserant, non
desunt B. 2.
respexit; sed Burgum comburens, *et burgenses* et eorum obsides, cum
et etiam Burgenses B 2. 3 1 B. 2. 2 et B. 2.
omnibus catallis *suis*, secum captivos duxit in Franciam: *sicque* ad de-
ad B. 2.
decus et sempiternum sui opprobrium, cum exercitu suo viliter et ignodens B. 2.
miniose aufugit, non au*sus* expectare impetum exercitus regis Angliæ[2].

[1] B. 1, f. 51.

[2] Interim rex Angliæ, in eminentiori loco constitutus, expectabat reditum exploratorum suorum; erat autem cor ejus pavens pro Vernolio*. Redeuntes autem ex-
(quod)
ploratores sui nuntiaverunt ei ..... rex Franciæ conversus esset in fugam.

Interim Willelmus rex Siciliæ, audiens mala quæ rex regis filius et fratres sui fecerunt, patri suo in hac forma scripsit:

EPISTOLA REGIS SICILIÆ AD HENRICUM REGEM ANGLIÆ.

"Henrico, Dei gratia, nobilissimo et illustri regi Angliæ, duci Normanniæ et "Aquitanniæ, et comiti Andegaviæ, Willelmus, eadem gratia, rex Siciliæ, ducatus "Apuliæ et principatus Capuæ, salutis felicitatem et de hostibus desideratum "triumphum. In receptione literarum vestrarum cognovimus (quod quidem non "sine admiratione maxima pro[63]ferre valemus, videlicet) quod ordine hu-"manitatis oblito et naturæ lege soluta, surrexit filius in parentem, in genito-"rem genitus, commota sunt viscera ad bellum intestinum, irruerunt ad arma "præcordia; et, quod novum prodigium est et nostris temporibus inauditum, "caro desævit in sanguinem, et se ipsum quærit sanguinis effundere. Et quoniam "ad tanti furoris impetum compescendum, potentiæ nostræ auxilium loci commo-
?
"ditas non** admittitur, eo quo possumus caritatis affectu (quem locorum spatia "non concludunt) personam et honorem vestrum devotius amplectentes, dolori "vestro compatimur, persecutionemque vestram molestam ducimus, et quasi pro-"priam reputamus. Confidimus autem et speramus in Domino (cujus judicio regum

* B. 2, f. 60, b.

** Admittit *Hoved.*

* scilicet, quod rex Franciæ fugam iniit B. 2. 4 5 6
Cumque nunciatum esset regi Angliæ et exercitui suo, * in ore gladii
1 2 3 eum B. 2. illa B. 2.
secuti sunt *illos*, et multi ex illis ceciderunt die illa in *ipsa* fuga, et multi capti, quorum non est numerus. Et ut in memoria habeatur, sciendum est quod hæc fuga regis Franciæ facta est quinta feria, quinto idus Augusti, in ipsa vigilia sancti Laurentii, ad laudem et gloriam Domini nostri Jhesu-Cristi, qui puniendo scelus perjurii, injuriam martyri suo illatam tam celeriter vindicavit. Itaque rex Angliæ, summa potitus victoria, in ipso noctis crepusculo venit Vernolium, et ibi tota nocte cum suis moram
a B. 2.
fecit; et mu[63]ros qui ceciderunt, reædificari præcepit. Et in crastino
Adamvilla B. 2.
recedens inde, cepit castellum de *Damvilla*, Gilleberti de Tileris, et mul-
deest B. 2. to B. 2.
tos milites et servientes in eo cepit. *Et* inde venit Ro*th*omagum; et statim
hac B. 2.
(Hoved. p. 534 B. 1) misit inde Brai*ban*cenos suos, de quibus plus ceteris confidebat, versus Britanniam. Nam Hugo comes Cestriæ et Radulfus de
dev B. 2.
Fulgeriis cum Britonibus terram ipsius circumquaque vastabant; et jam
eis B. 2. ejus B. 2. deest B. 2.
reddita erat *illis* turris de Dolo; et ibi occurrerunt *eis* Braibaceni *regis*, et prælium ibidem cum eis commiserunt, 13 kalendas Septembris, feria se-
v B. 2.
cunda, circa octabas Assumptionis sanctæ Mariæ [1]. Et eadem die comes Cestriæ et Radulfus de Fulgeriis victi sunt cum Britonibus qui cum eis
deest B. 2. plures vero B. 2.
erant, et in fugam versi sunt; et multi capti *sunt* in fuga illa, *et multi* interfecti.

desunt B. 2.

PRIMA CAPTIO APUD DOLUM.

desunt B. 2.

Comes vero Cestriæ et Radulfus *de Fulgeriis* cum parte exercitus sui [64] incluserunt se infra turrim Doli, [2] quem dolo ceperunt; et Braibaceni
deest B. 2.
regis victoria potiti, *illos* [3] circumquaque obsederunt, et statim rei even-
2 1 3 5 B. 2. 4
tum regi [4] mandaverunt. Capti sunt autem in fuga illa decem et septem
2 B. 2. 1 1 B. 2.
milites, quorum nomina hæc sunt: Hasculfus de Sancto-*Hy*lario, Willel-

"judicia terminantur) quod non diutius patietur filium vestrum templari supra id "quod deberet. Et qui factus est patri obediens usque ad mortem, ipse in eo filiale "lumen obedientiæ inspirabit, per quod memorabitur quod caro et sanguis vester "est; et, relictis hostilitatis erroribus, agnoscet se filium, redibit ad patrem, naturæ "solidabit incommoda, et debitæ dilectionis fœdera ordo pristinus continebit. Valete." *Hæc ex* B. 2.

1 Itaque disponitur prope bellum, acies dirigitur, pugna paratur. Igitur bello commisso, prosternuntur hostes, Britones cadunt et vincuntur. *Hæc ex* B. 2.

2 L. quam.

3 B. 2, f. 61.

4 B. 1, f. 51, b.

scicia B. 2.
mus Patricius, Patric de Landa, Haimo de Fa*lcilia*, Gaufridus Farsi,
uul B. 2.
Willelmus de Ri*v*elent, Radulfus de Sens, Johannes Pincerna, Vicarius
cs B. 2.
de Dolo, Willelmus de Log*is*, Willelmus de Mota, Rodbertus de Treham,
rv B. 2. Radulfus B. 2.
Paganus Cornutus, Johannes de Charr*u*eris, *Reginaldus* Pinzun, Regi-
deest B. 2. deest B. 2.
nal*dus* de Campo-Lamberti, Eudo *Bastardus*.
to B. 2.

In crastino autem apud Ro*th*omagum pervenit rumor ille ad aures
desunt B. 2.
regis Angliæ, et multum ipsum et omnes qui eum *in veritate* diligebant,
adv B. 2.
exhilaravit; et ipse statim iter arripuit versus Dolum. Et cum illuc
rr
venisset, feria quinta, statim fecit parari perarias suas et alias machinas bellicas.

CAPTIO COMITIS CESTRIÆ. B. 2.

4 5 B. 2. r 2 3
Comes vero Cestriæ et qui infra turrim cum eo erant, non valentes
eam B. 2. deest B. 2.
eam defendere, reddiderunt *illam* regi, proxima *die* dominica sequente,
deest B. 2.
scilicet septimo kalendas Septembris.

SECUNDA CAPTIO INFRA TURRIM DOLI. B. 1.

[65] Et capti sunt in ea multi milites et servientes, quorum nomina
2 B. 2. r deest B. 2. desunt B. 2.
hæc sunt: Hugo comes Cestriæ, Radulfus *de* Fulgeriis, *Willelmus de Ful-*
e B. 2. deest B. 2. desunt B. 2.
geriis, Haimo Spinæ, *Leones*, Rodbertus Patricius, *Engeram Patricius*,
f B. 2. desunt B. 2 desunt B. 2.
Ricardus de Luveto*t*, *Gwigain Gwiun*, Oliverus de Rupe, *Alanus de Tintiniac*, *Juellus filius Radulfi de Fulgeriis*, Gilo de Castello-Girun,
et alii plus quam octoginta milites magni nominis B 2.
Philippus de Landewi, *Willelmus de Gorram*, *Juellus de Meduana*, *Gaufridus de Buisserio*, *Reginaldus de Marchia*, *le Marchis*, *Erveius de Vitri*, *Hamelinus de Eni*, *Willelmus de Sancto-Bricio*, *Willelmus del Casteller*, *Willelmus de Orenge*, *Radulfus Vaintras*, *Rodbertus Pincerna*, *Henricus de Grai*, *Frumbaldus filius Hakec*, *Gaufridus abbas*, *Johannes Caurcin*, *Johannes de Breerrec*, *Hugo Havenel*, *Hamelinus de Pratellis*, *Gwado de la Basoche*, *Secardus Burdin*, *Walterius Buio*, *Johenp Ramazt*, *Hugo de Buissai*, *Jordanus de Maszua*, *Henricus de Sancto-Hylario*, *Philippus de Sancto-Hylario*, *fratres Hasculfi*, *Bertholomæus*[1] *de Buisseria*, *Herebertus de Buillo*, *Bauzan de Nalet*, *Rollandus filius*

[1] B. 1, f. 52.

Radulfi, Roellinus filius Radulfi, Gaufridus de Minihac, Gwido Butefact, Jeldeuinus Gwiun, Juellus de Ponte, [66] *Hamelinus Abbas, Rodbertus de Baiochis, Elias de Aubenni, Reginaldus Cattus, Johannes de Scurtizt, Philippus de Luvenni, Henricus de*[1] *Vastinus, Henricus de Sancto-Stephano, Willelmus de Capella, Rogerus de Logis, Bencellardus de Serlando, Willelmus de Bosco-Berrengerii, Johannes de Ruella, Oliver de Munsorel, Hamundus de Rocheforda, Rodbertus de Spineto, Johannes de Logis, Gaufridus Carloel, Radulfus de Toumai, Gillebertus de Croe, Radulfus Portarius, Radulfus Pulcinus, Mathæus de Praeriis, Ricardus de Cumbrai, Willelmus le Franzais, Oliver Ruande, Radulfus Ruffin, Springaud, Rogerus de Chevervilla, Willelmus de Logis.*

vero B. 2. Rei B. 2.

Eodem *anno*, circa festum sanctæ Mariæ-Magdalenæ, *Regi*naldus comes Cornubiæ avunculus regis, et Ricardus de Luci, cum exercitu Angliæ obsiderunt Leicestriam, et eam ceperunt, et totam combusserunt; data prius licentia burgensibus libere exeundi cum catallis suis, et manendi ubi vellent in terra regis, donec pax fieret in terra, et tunc revertendi ad terras suas; sed castellum Leicestriæ non ceperunt.

B. 1. PRIMUM COLLOQUIUM DE PACE.

Itaque postquam prædictus comes Cestriæ reddidit regi turrim Dolí, ipse rex in Nativitate beatæ Mariæ tenuit curiam suam apud Cenomannum, et ibi moram [67] fecit usque ad Exaltationem sanctæ Crucis; et inde reversus est in Normanniam, et habuit colloquium inter ipsum et Lodowicum regem Franciæ, septimo kalendas Octobris, feria tertia, de

s B. 2.

pace facienda inter ipsum et filios suos, apud Gisor*cium*. In quo colloquio,

2 B. 2. 1

rex Angliæ obtulit regi filio suo medietatem reddituum dominicorum suo-

2 1 castra B. 2.

rum Angliæ, et quatuor idonea *castella* in eadem terra; aut si filius suus mallet morari in Normannia, rex optulit ei medietatem reddituum Nor-

castra B. 2.

mannіæ, et omnes redditus terræ patris sui, et tria *castella* in Normannia

deest B. 2.

idonea. Ricardo etiam filio suo obtulit medietatem reddituum *Aquitan-*

castra B. 2

niæ[2], et quatuor *castella* in eadem terra idonea. Gaufrido etiam filio suo parvulo obtulit terram illam quæ contingebat jure hereditario filiæ comitis Conani, si idem præfatam mulierem, assensu domini papæ, posset

3 1 B. 2. 2

sibi in matrimonium copulare. Supposuit etiam rex se omnino arbitrio archiepiscopi Tarentensis et legatorum domini papæ, ut tantum de red-

deest B. 2.

ditibus *suis* superadderet et daret filiis suis, quantum illi dicerent æquum, retenta sibi justicia et regia potestate. Sed non fuit de consilio regis Franciæ, quod filii regis hanc pacem cum patre suo facerent.

y B. 2.

Iterum tamen convenerunt inter Gisorcium et Trie in crastino, ad

[1] F. Vastiniis.
[2] B. 1, f. 52, b.

pacem faciendam, et non potuerunt inter eos convenire. Sicque finito
deest B. 2.
colloquio, milites regis Angliæ *militarem* inierunt conflictum cum militi-
militarem B. 2. y B. 2.
[68]bus regis *Franciæ;* in quo conflictu Ingeramnus de Tria, dominus castelli de Tria, captus a comite Willelmo de Mandevilla, venit usque
2 B. 2. 1
Gisorcium, et ibi reddidit se prisonem in misericordia regis Angliæ.

PRODITIO ROBERTI COMITIS LEICESTRIÆ. B. 2.

Statim vero post illud colloquium, Robertus comes Leicestriæ, missus
desunt B. 2.
a rege [1] Franciæ et a juvene rege *cum exercitu,* transfretare in Angliam festinavit. Itaque circa festum sancti Lucæ ewangelistæ, prædictus comes
cum uxore B. 2. desunt B. 2.
et uxor sua *comitissa Leicestriæ,* applicuerunt in Angliam cum infinito
desunt B. 2. Sed tamen paulo inferius occurrunt ad hoc signum †
exercitu Flandrensium, *usque ad Fremigham, castellum comitis Hugonis Bigot,* [2] *cum eo per aliquot dies ibidem moram fecerunt. Et nuntiatum est per circumjacentes regiones applicuisse ipsum in Angliam cum magno exercitu extranearum gentium; et gavisi sunt inde valde inimici regis, et qui eum diligebant ultra modum contristabantur de ejus adventu. Timuerunt enim valde ejus minas et gravamen ipsius. Et præ-*
desunt B. 2.
dictus comes Leicestriæ statim post festum omnium Sanctorum obsedit
Aghenet B. 2. tenuit B. 2.
castellum de *Haghenet,* quod Ranulfus de Broc *habuit* in custodia; et infra quartum diem cepit. Et cum inde pro[69]cedere vellet versus Leicestriam, nunciatum est ei magnam militum copiam apud Sanctum-
territus B. 2.
Eadmundum convenisse: unde [3] ipse *perterritus,* reversus est †. Cumque hoc nuntiatum esset Ricardo de Luci, et Humfrido de Boun constabulario regis, qui profecti fuerant cum magno exercitu ad devastandam terram regis Scotiæ, et jam combusserant Berewic villam regis Scotiæ, et totam circumjacentem provinciam; ceperunt inducias a rege Scotiæ usque ad festum sancti Hilarii, et dederunt inde obsides hinc inde. Et sic, quam citius
2 B. 2. 3 4 1
potuit, Humfridus de Boun pervenit usque ad Sanctum-Eadmundum,
y
expectans ibi adventum comitis Leicestriæ, qui adhuc (ut supradictum
deest B. 2. deest B. 2.
est) moram *fecit* cum *comite* Hugone Bigot. Venit autem illuc ad eorum
deest B. 2. desunt B. 2.
subsidium Reginaldus comes Cornubiæ avunculus *regis,* et *comes Glou-*
et comes de Gloucestre B. 2.
cestriæ, et Willelmus comes de Arundel. Appropinquante igitur festo omnium Sanctorum, venit comes Leicestriæ cum exercitu suo non longe

[1] B. 2, f. 61, b.
[2] Ubi *deesse videtur; sive* et, *uti infra in hac pagina.*
[3] B. 1, f. 53.

nh B. 2.
a Sancto-Eadmundo, in loco qui dicitur For*neh*am, in quodam marisco, non longe ab ecclesia Santæ Jenovefæ; et sperabat se posse transire sine impedimento. Cumque ejus adventus nunciatus esset comiti Cornubiæ et
erant ibi B. 2.
comiti de Arundel et Humfrido de Boun constabulario, qui *ibi erat* cum 300 militibus soldariis regis; exierunt armati, præferentes sibi vexillum
sancti B. 2.
beati [70] Eadmundi regis et martyris. Et ordinatis aciebus suis, in vir-
beati B. 2
tute Dei et *gloriosissimi martyris* sui Eadmundi, percusserunt aciem in
2
qua comes Leicestriæ erat. Et in momento, in ictu oculi, victus est ille
1 B. 2.
comes et captus, et uxor sua, et Hugo de Castellis quidam nobilissimus baronum Franciæ, et omnis exercitus ejus versus est in fugam. Et ceciderunt in prælio illo plusquam decem millia Flandrensium, et plures eorum capti fuerunt et incarcerati, et vix unus illorum evasit. [1] *Factus*
desunt B. 2
est autem hoc prælium 17 *kalendas Novembris*. Et statim divulgatus est hujus rei eventus per totam Angliam, et factus est timor magnus super omnes inimicos regis. Pervenit et rumor ille in Franciam ad Lo-
deest B. 2.
dowicum regem *Franciæ*, et ad juvenem regem, qui eos in Angliam miserunt, et contristati sunt valde inde; et plus quam dici potest [2] ex eo
desunt B. 2.
tempore timuerunt regem Angliæ, [3] *quia Deus erat cum eo*. Cumque rex
deest B. 2.
Angliæ audisset quod inimici sui ita victi essent in Anglia, et quod comes Leicestriæ et uxor ejus caperentur, misit pro eis ut ad eum ducerentur in Normanniam; sicque factum est. Et cum ad eum venissent, fecit
um B. 2.
eos incarcerari apud Faleysi*am*, [4] et comitem Cestriæ cum eis.

Appropinquante vero festo sancti Martini, rex ivit [71] in Andegaviam cum Braibacenis suis. Et circa octabas sancti Martini, venit ad eum Gau-
e
e B. 2.
fridus de Haya, et reddidit ei castellum et villam de Haya. Et *statim*
desunt B. 2.
ni B. 2.
redditum est ei castellum de Prulli, et castellum de Campe*nni*, quod Rodbertus de Blé contra eum tenuit. Et ipse cepit in illo multos milites
desunt B. 2.
et servientes, *quorum nomina hæc sunt: Hemericus de Blé; Baldewinus de Brise-haia; Hugo de La-loc; Hugo le Danais; Hugo de Mota; Willelmus de Rivau; Symon de Bernezai; Johannes Maumune; Hubertus Ruscevaus; Willelmus Maingot; Saerus Turreis; Johannes de Campenni; Walterus de Poerce; Brice de Ceaus; Hemericus Ripaut; Rodbertus Anglicus; Grossinus Champmaen; Isembertus Wellun; Gaufridus Carré; Paganus Judex; Willelmus Burgun; Masteius homo Saeri de Turreis; Gwiardus homo Johannis Maumune; Rogerus homo Willelmi Rivau; Petrus homo Johannis de Campenni; Philippus homo Hugonis le Dais; Russellus homo Huberti Ruscevaus; Hulgerius, Hemerius,*

[1] *Sic Apogr. Wanl.* L. factum.
[2] B. 1, f. 53, b.
[3] 2 Paralip. xxx, 8.
[4] B. 2, f. 62.

homines Petri de Posci; Hosmundus, Everardus, homines Hemerici de Blé; Gillebertus, Albinus, homines Hugonis de La-loc; Brito, Gaufridus, homines Walteri Poence; Hemericus, Petrus, ho[72]*mines Hugonis de Mota; Brito, Swennum, homines Symonis de Bernezai.*

vero B. 2.

Circa festum sancti Andreæ, venit rex cum Braibacenis suis ad Ven-

car B. 2.

domiam, quam Brac*har*dus de Lavardin, patre suo comite de Vendomia expulso, contra regem tenuit; et eam cepit, et inde rediit in Normanniam.

Eodem anno, Lodowicus rex Franciæ honoravit armis militaribus Ri-

comitem B. 2.

cardum *ducem* Aquitanniæ, filium regis Angliæ.

Eodem anno, rex Angliæ pater dedit Ricardo, priori de Dovera, archiepiscopatum Cantuariæ; et Reginaldo, filio Joscelini Saresbiriensis episcopi, episcopatum Bathoniensem. *Ex* B. 2.

MCLXXIV.

[1] Adveniente autem anno ab Incarnatione Domini 1174, rex Angliæ tenuit curiam suam in Natale Domini apud Cadomum in Normannia, et cepit inducias a rege Franciæ a festo sancti Hilarii usque ad clausum

2 3 B. 2. 1

Pascha. Similiter rex Franciæ cepit ab eo inducias usque ad prædictum terminum. Instante vero festo sancti Hilarii, Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus cepit colloquium inter ipsum et regem Scotiæ apud Revedalam, et

pro B. 2.

ibi cepit inducias a rege Scotiæ usque ad clausum Pascha. Et *in* illis in-

illi B. 2.

duciis conventionavit *ei* trescentas marcas argenti de terris baronum de

umb B. 2.

Northumberlanda. Interim Rogerus de M*ub*rai firmavit castellum apud

rf B. 2. Axiolm B. 2.

Kinar*def*eriam, in insula quæ vocatur *Axiholim*.

REX SCOTIÆ PROMOVIT EXERCITUM SUUM IN NORTHUMBERLANDIAM. B. 2.

deest B. 2.

Et statim post clausum Pascha, acceptis prius *prædictis* trescentis

deest B. 2. desunt B. 2.

marchis *argenti* de terris baronum *de Northumberlanda*, rex Scociæ promovit exercitum suum in Northumberlandam, et ibi per Scottos et

suos Walenses B. 2.

Galualenses suos execrabiliter egit. Mulieres enim prægnantes findebant, et fœtus extractos super lancearum acumina jactabant. Infantes et pueros

deest B. 2.

et juvenes et senes utriusque sexus, a maximo usque ad minimum, sine

deest B. 2. 3 B. 2. 2 1 peremerunt B. 2.

ulla redemptione et misericordia *interfecerunt*. Sacerdotes vero et clericos in ipsis ecclesiis super altaria detruncabant. Quæcunque igitur Scotti

Walenses B. 2.

et *Galualenses* attingebant, omnia erant horroris plena et immanitatis.

[1] B. 1, f. 54.

Interim rex Scotiæ misit David fratrem suum ad Leicestriam, ut ibi esset contra regem cum militibus comitis Leicestriæ; et ipse cum exercitu
K B 2. 2 3 B. 2. 1
suo obsedit Carleolum, quod Rodbertus de Vallis in custodia habuit. Et cum per paucos dies ibi moram fecisset, demisit ibi partem exercitus sui
desunt B. 2.
circa castellum, et ipse cum reliqua parte *exercitus sui* ivit per Northumbriam, terras regis et baronum suorum devastans. Et cepit armis castel-
1 B. 2. a B. 2. c B. 2.
lum de Lidel, quod fuit Nicolai de Stutevi*lla*, et ca[74]stell*um* de Burgo,
deest B. 2. App B. 2. 1 B 2.
et castellum de *Ap*elbi, castella regis, quæ Rodbertus de Stutevi*lla* custo-
wrd B. 2.
divit; et castellum de Werke*urda*, [1] quod Rogerus filius Ricardi custo-
Heyhocle B. 2. desunt B. 2.
divit, et castellum de *Hyrebothle, quod Odenellus de Dunfranvilla tenuit*. Et postea rediit ad exercitum suum, quem dimisit circa Carleolum; et tam diu ibi moram fecit, donec Rodbertus de Vallis, victu sibi et burgensibus qui intus erant deficiente, cum eo pacem fecit [2] in hunc modum: quod ad festum sancti Michaelis sequens redderet ei castellum et villam
K B. 2.
Carleoli, nisi interim haberet succursum a domino rege Angliæ. Et super hoc fecit ipse regem Scotiæ securum fide et sacramentis et obsidibus. Et rex Scotiæ inde recedens cum exercitu suo, obsedit castellum de
Prudhau B. 2. Odelini B 2. 1 B. 2.
Prudeau Odenelli de Dunfranvi*lla;* sed illud capere non potuit. Nam exercitus Eboracensis Siriæ super eum venire parabat. Duces autem
1 B 2. ejus B. 2.
hujus exercitus erant Rodbertus de Stutevi*lla* et Willelmus filius *suus*,
deest B. 2. deest B. 2. Ranulfus B. 2. 1 B. 2. Radulfus de Tilli B. 2.
et Willelmus de Vesci, *et Randulfus* de Glanvi*lla*, et *Randulfus de Thilli*
2 B. 2. 1 Reirnardus
constabularius familiæ Rogeri Eboracensis archiepiscopi, et *Bernardus*
de Baliol B. 2. Odinellus de Dunfranvil B. 2.
de Baillol, et Odenellus de Dunfranvilla. Quod cum nuntiatum esset
desunt B. 2.
regi Scotiæ, castellum illud *quod obsederat* reliquit; et fugiens inde, venit usque Alne[75]wic, et illud obsedit; et misit inde comitem Dune-
ch B. 2. 1 B. 2.
canum, et comitem d'Anegus, et Ricardum de Morvi*lla* fere cum toto
deest B. 2.
exercitu suo per circumjacentes provincias ad devastandum eas, *et* rex
vero B. 2. 2 B. 2. 1 deest B 2. nca B. 2.
Scotiæ ibi remansit cum privata familia *sua*. Comes vero Du*neca*nus
2 3 B, 2. 4 1
statim exercitum illum in tres partes divisit: unam secum retinuit, et
deest B. 2. terras et B. 2.
reliquas duas misit ad comburendum villas circumjacentes et ad homines interficiendos a maximo usque ad minimum et ad prædas adducen-
deest B. 2. vero B. 2.
das. *Et* ipse cum parte exercitus quam sibi elegit, intravit villam de
th B. 2. desunt B. 2.
Werkeur*d* et eam combussit, et interfecit *in ea* omnes, quos invenit,
in ea B. 2.
viros et mulieres, magnos et parvos; et fecit satellites suos frangere

[1] B. 1, f. 54, b.
[2] B. 2, f. 62, b.

ecclesiam Sancti-Laurentii, quæ ibi erat, et interficere in ea et in domo
centum
clerici villæ illius plusquam 100 viros, præter mulieres et parvulos.
[1] Proh dolor! tunc audires clamorem mulierum, ululatus senum, gemitus
morientium, juvenum desperationem! Sed Deus omnipotens eadem die
deest B. 2.
vindicavit injuriam et violentiam *ecclesiæ* martiris sui illatam: nam præ-
dicti duces exercitus Eboraci-Siriæ, cum audissent quod rex Scotiæ re-
dhau B. 2.
cessisset de Pru*dehau* et obsedisset Alnewicum, et ita misisset exercitum
deest B. 2.
suum ab eo, cum festinatione secuti [76] sunt *eum;* et ex improviso in-
com B. 2. quasi B. 2.
venerunt eum ante Alnewic edentem cum militibus suis, tanquam se-
curum et nihil timentem. Ipse enim cum illos vidisset a longe venientes,
nc B. 2. illo B. 2.
arbitratus est ipsos esse comitem Du*nec*anum et qui cum *eo* erant. Sed
cum appropinquassent ei, irruerunt in eum, et statim ceperunt illum; et
milites sui, relicto illo, fugerunt. Et capti fuerunt cum eo Ricardus
i B. 2. et alii multi nobi-
Cum*un*, Willelmus de Mortemer, Willelmus de Insula, *Henricus Revel*,
les B. 2.
*Radulfus de Ver, Jordanus Flandrensis, Waldevus filius Baldewini de
Bicre, Ricardus Malus-Juvellus*. Et sciendum est quod rex Scotiæ cap-
sabato Eodem vero B. 2.
tus fuit apud Alnewic, tertio idus Julii, [2] feria septima. *Et eadem* die
erp B. 2. Barra B. 2.
applicuit apud Hert*e*pol comes Hugo de *Bar*, nepos Hugonis Dunelmensis
ex B. 2.
episcopi, cum quadraginta militibus de Francia et cum quingentis Flan-
drensibus, pro quibus prædictus episcopus miserat. Et cum hoc nuntiatum
esset prædicto episcopo, et sciret quod rex Scotiæ caperetur, noluit illos
deest B. 2.
quingentos Flandrenses diutius retinere; sed, datis *eis* liberationibus et
donis suis 40 dierum, permisit illos clam repatriare. Sed secum retinuit
comitem Hugonem et milites qui cum eo venerant, et tradidit eis cas-
utr B. 2.
tellum suum de Albertona ad custodiendum. Huct*r*edus vero filius [77]
Fergy B. 2. * duces Gualensium B. 2. ss B. 2.
Fergus, et Gillebertus frater ejus, * cum audi*r*ent quod dominus suus rex
Gallensibus B. 2.
Scotiæ caperetur, statim redierunt cum *Galualensibus* suis in patrias suas;
et statim expulerunt a Galueia omnes ballivos [3] et custodes quos rex Scotiæ
eis imposuerat, et omnes Anglicos et Francigenas quos apprehendere
poterant, interfecerunt; et omnes munitiones et castella quæ rex Scotiæ
in terra illorum [4] firmavit, ceperunt et destruxerunt, et omnes quos intus
ceperant interfecerunt.
hæc B. 2. deest B. 2.
Dum autem fierent in Norhumbria, *interim* comes Hugo Bigot venit
ic B. 2.
cum Flandrensibus suis usque Norw*ice*, et eam infregit et combussit. Et

[1] B. 1, f. 55.
[2] *Sic ms.* S. die sabbati B. 2.
[3] B. 2, f. 63.
[4] B. 1, f. 55, b.

statim post [1] clausum Pentecosten *Aschetillus* (Anketallus B. 2.) Mallore, constabularius Leicestriæ, ivit cum militibus suis ad Norham*toni*am (tun B. 2.), villam regis; et burgenses exierunt obviam eis cum militibus qui intus erant, et commiserunt cum eis prælium; et non valentes *illorum* (eorum B 2.) impetum sustinere, burgenses versi sunt in fugam; et capti sunt ex eis plus quam 200^ti^ burgenses, præter illos qui vulnerati interierunt. Et milites Leicestriæ, victoriam potiti, cum magna præda redierunt ad castellum suum.

Interim Gaufridus Lincolniensis electus, *filius regis*, (desunt B. 2.) congregavit exercitum Lincolniæ-Siriæ, et obsedit ca[78]stellum de Insula, quod Rogerus de M*u*brai (um B. 2.) firmaverat; et infra paucos dies cepit. Rodbertus vero de M*u*brai, (um B. 2.) constabularius castelli de Insula, dum iret versus Le*i*cestriam (y B. 2.) pro auxilio, [2] in ipso itinere captus fuit a rusticis del Clay, et retentus. Cumque Gaufridus Lincolniensis (2 B. 2. 1) electus castellum illud cepisset, statim præcepit (2 B. 2. 1) illud destrui. Et recedens inde, venit Eboracum, et, sumpto sibi in auxilio Rogero Eboracensium archiepiscopo et congregato exercitu Eboraci-Siriæ, obsedit Malessar*ch*e (rd B. 2.) castellum Rogeri de M*u*brai (um B. 2.); et infra paucos dies cepit illud, et multos milites et servientes in eo; et tradidit illud (2 B. 2. 1) archiepiscopo Eboraci ad custodiendum. Et antequam recederet, firmavit quoddam castellum apud To*pectiv*e, (ppedive B. 2.) quod et tradidit Willelmo de Stutev*illa* (l B. 2.) ad custodiendum.

Et dum hæc fierent in Eborac-Siria (ci-S B. 2.), Rodbertus comes de Ferrer*is* (rs B. 2.), sumptis secum militibus Leicestriæ, venit summo mane usque *Nortingham* (Nothinham B. 2.) villam regis, quam Reginaldus de Luc*i* (cy B. 2.) custodivit; et statim, sine aliqua difficultate, eam cepit et combussit. Et burgenses interfecit; et quos capere potuit, (secum B. 2.) captivos duxit, et totam prædam quam capere potuit.

[79] Interim Ricardus Cantuariensis electus, et Reginaldus Bathoniensis [3] electus, Romam profecti pro electione sua et aliorum electorum Angliæ confirmanda, multos adversarios de Francia, et plures et duriores de Anglia, invenerunt (deest B. 2.) contra eos in *Romana* curia. Nam novus rex Angliæ, volens illorum electiones impedire, si posset, misit nuntios suos cum nuntiis regis Franciæ ad Alexandrum summum pontificem, mandans *ei* (illi B. 2.) et obsecrans ne confirmaret electiones illas, quia factæ fuerant contra ipsius voluntatem et *assen*sum (consen B. 2.). Noluit tamen summus pontifex mandato

[1] *Sic Apogr. Wanl.*
[2] *Hoved.*, p. 537. B. 1.
[3] B. 1, f. 56.

ipsius consentire, sed ipsum Cantuariensem electum consecravit; de cujus
scripsit domino suo B. 2.
consecratione Reginaldus, Bathoniensis electus, in hac forma *domino* regi
deest B. 2.
Angliæ *scripsit*.

EPISTOLA REGINALDI, BATHONIENSIS ELECTI. B. 1.

desunt B. 2.
"Henrico illustri *Angliæ regi*, et duci Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et
"comiti Andegaviæ, karissimo domino suo, Reginaldus, Dei gratia,
"Bathoniensis electus, salutem in eo qui dat salutem regibus. Noverit
terra B. 2.
"vestræ prudentia magestatis nos in curia domini papæ duros de *regno*
2 3 B. 2. 4 1
"Francorum, et de terra vestra duriores, adversarios invenisse. Ideoque
"nos ibi multa pati et moram oportuit facere tædiosam; tandemque, ad
oper B. 2.
"instantiam nostram, divina *cooper*ante gratia, domini papæ [1] duritia
deest B. 2.
"adeo est emollita, quod domini [80] Cantuariensis *electi* electionem
deest B. 2.
"sollempniter, in præsentia omnium, confirmavit; eumque *etiam* con-
3 B. 2. 1 2
"firmatum, dominica sequenti consecravit. Consecrato pallium die tertia
4
"dedit, et, modici temporis spatio excurrente, primatiam abdidit. Nos
quæ B. 2.
"præterea desiderantes ipsum habere plenissimam potestatem vindictam
"ecclesiasticam exercendi in homines regni vestri, qui contra innocen-
2 B. 2. 1
"tiam vestram nequiter et proditoriæ suæ malitiæ calcaneum extulerunt,
"multa sollicitudine obtinuimus quod domnus papa eidem provinciæ
"suæ legationem indulsit. Meum itaque et aliorum electorum negotium
"adhuc in pendenti est, nec de nobis domnus papa aliquid statuere vel
"diffinire decrevit, donec vobiscum filius vester ad concordiam refor-
"metur. [2] Speramus tamen in Domino quod mea et omnium aliorum
"electorum promotio domni Cantuariensis archiepiscopi providentiæ
"committetur. Proxima dominica post [3] Assentionem Domini, dimissæ
"sunt litteræ istæ; et [4] nicil jam expectabamus, nisi galeas nostras,
*archiepiscopum B. 2. 2 3 B. 2. 1
"Domnumque Cantuariensem * cum festinatione volo, postposito negotio
4 5 6gw B. 2. 3 2 1
"meo, ad vos reducere, ut ipsius in hac *w*erra consilium et auxilium
"habeatis. Valete."

[1] B. 2, f. 63, b.
[2] B. 1, f. 56, b.
[3] *Sic Apogr. Wanl.*
[4] Nichil *prius scripserat Wanleius*; sed *h* expunxit.

[81] *Ricardus de Luci obsedit castellum de Huntedun.* B. 2.

desunt B. 2.

QUOMODO CASTELLUM HUNTENDONIÆ OBSESSUM FUIT.

Appropinquante autem Nativitate sancti Johannis Baptistæ, Ricardus de Luci magnum congregavit exercitum, et obsedit castellum de Hun-
na B. 2.
tendo*nia;* milites vero, qui intus erant, villam combusserunt. Et Ricardus
desunt B. 2. desunt B. 2.
de Luci fir*mavit* quoddam castellum ante portas castelli *de Huntendonia,* ita quod nulli, qui intus erat, securus patebat egressus. Et tradidit illud castellum, quod firmaverat, comiti Simoni per mandatum regis; quia ille
fuerat B. 2.
calumpniatus *fuit* in curia regis comitatum de Huntendonia suum esse debere jure hereditario; et rex illum ei concessit, si illum adipisci pos-
i B. 2.
set. Adveniente itaque Nativitate sancti Johannis Baptistæ, juvenis rex Angliæ et comes Flandriæ, per consilium regis Franciæ, et per mandatum comitum et baronum Angliæ, paraverunt in Angliam venire cum magno
2 B. 2. 1 inues B. 2.
exercitu. Et jam venerunt cum exercitu suo usque [1] Graver*inhes* in Flandria, ubi naves suæ congregabantur.

Interim rex Angliæ profectus fuerat cum exercitu suo in Pictaviam, et multas munitiones et castella in ea cepit, et dominio suo subjugavit. Et
deest B. 2 nt B. 2.
tandem pervenit usque *ad* San*cto*nensem civitatem, et eam infregit;
desunt B. 2. * in ea cepit B. 2.
[82] et duas turres *in ea cepit*, quarum una vocabatur Turris major*, et
4 1 B. 2. 2 3 desunt B. 2.
multos milites et servientes *in eis*. Et obsedit ibi ecclesiam, ubi sedes
2 3 B. 2. 1
episcopalis erat, quam milites et servientes contra eum munierant; et
2 B. 2. 1 2 B. 2. 1
infra paucos dies eam cepit, et multos milites et servientes in ea. Et postea rediit in Andegaviam. Et circa festum sancti Barnabæ apostoli,
venit ad B. 2. inum B. 2.
cepit Ancenis [2] *juxta* Sanctum-Florent*ium*, quæ fuit villa Guivinou de Ancenis, et in ea munitionem fortissimam firmavit et in manu sua retinuit; sed totam provinciam circumjacentem devastavit, et vineas et arbores fructiferas extirpari fecit. Et postea rediit in Normanniam. Et circa
v B. 2.
octa*b*as apostolorum Petri et Pauli, cum audisset quod rex filius suus et comes Flandriæ jam venissent ad naves suas, cum magno exer-
2 B. 2. 1
citu, ad transfretandum in Angliam; postpositis omnibus aliis negotiis
deest B. 2.
suis, usque ad Barbefluctum, ubi naves suæ congregatæ erant, transvolavit. Et statim navibus ascensis, in crastino applicuit [3] in Angliam apud Suthamptonam, feria secunda, octavo idus Julii. Et adduxit secum utram-

[1] *Vel*, Gravelinges.
[2] B. 1, f. 57.
[3] B. 2, desinit fol. 68, hic deest folium in B. 2.

que reginam, et Braibacenos suos, et comitem Leicestriæ, et comitem Cestriæ; quos statim cum applicuisset in Angliam custodiæ mancipavit.

QUOMODO REX VENIT CANTUARIAM.

Et in crastino iter arripuit in peregrinatione ad sanctum Thomam Cantuariensem martyrem. Et cum appropinquasset, statim ex quo ecclesiam vidit in qua cor[83]pus beati martyris sepultum est, equum in quo sedebat deseruit; et, extractis calceamentis suis, nudus pedes, [1] in pannis laneis processit usque ad sepulchrum beati martyris, in tanta humilitate et cordis compunctione, ut credatur illius operis sine dubio extitisse [2] "qui respicit terram et facit eam tremere." Peracta itaque peregrinatione sua, rex in crastino, scilicet die sabbati, summo mane, inde recessit versus Lundoniam.

Eadem vero die, scilicet tertio idus Julii, captus fuit rex Scotiæ apud Alnewic; et die Jovis sequenti, pervenit rumor ille, quod rex Scotiæ caperetur, ad aures regis apud Lundonias, ubi ipse morabatur congregans exercitum suum. Quod cum audisset rex, [3] "gavisus est gaudio magno valde", et gratias inde egit omnipotenti Deo et beato Thomæ martyri. Et eadem die promovit exercitum suum versus Huntendoniam, et eam obsedit. Et die dominica sequenti [4], scilicet duodecimo kalendas Augusti, redditum est ei castellum de Huntendonia; et omnes milites et servientes qui intus erant, reddiderunt se ei in misericordia ipsius, salvis vita et membris. Et statim rex procedens inde, promovit exercitum suum versus Fremigham, castellum comitis Hugonis Bigot. Ibi ipse comes erat cum magna multitudine Flandrensium; et cum rex venisset cum exercitu suo non longe a Framigham, in loco qui dicitur Seleham, fixit tentoria sua. Et in crastino, scilicet octavo kalendas Augusti, et festo sancti Jacobi apostoli, venit ad eum comes Hugo Bigot, et fecit cum eo pacem, et reddidit ei castellum de Fremigham et castellum de Bungeia; et cum magna difficultate a rege impetravit quod Flandrenses illi qui cum eo erant, [84] sine impedimento repatriare possent. Et rex inde recedens, venit cum exercitu suo usque Norhamtoniam; et illuc venit ad eum Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, et reddidit ei castellum de Dunelmo et castellum de Norham et castellum de Alvertona; et vix ab eo impetravit quod comes Hugo de Bar nepos suus, et milites qui cum eo per mandatum ipsius venerant, sine impedimento in Franciam, unde venerant, redire possent.

Et ibidem, eadem die, scilicet pridie kalendas Augusti, venerunt ad eum Anketillus Mallore et Willelmus de Diva, constabularii comitis Leicestriæ; et reddiderunt ei castellum Leicestriæ et castellum de Mun-Sorel et castellum de Corbi. Et eadem die ibidem venit ad eum Rogerus de Mulbrai, et reddidit ei castellum suum de Treske; et ibidem venit ad eum comes de Ferreris, et reddidit ei castellum de Tutesbiria et castellum de Duffelda.

deest B. 2. nomine B. 2.

[5] Cum autem hæc per Angliam fierent, *Lodowicus* rex *Franciæ*, revo-

[1] *Hoved.* 539, B. 1.
[2] *Psal.* civ, 33.
[3] Matth. ii, 10.
[4] B. 1, f. 57, b.
[5] B. 2, f. 64.

cato juvene rege et comite Flandriæ, qui ad mare erant ut in Angliam transfretassent, et congregato magno exercitu, obsedit Rothomagum; [1] sed parum proficere potuit. Nam barones et milites Normanniæ, qui re-
et dilectione B. 2. deest B. 2.
gem in fide et *veritate* diligebant, ibi convenerant, et eam viriliter
desunt B. 2.
contra eum defendebant. Cumque hoc nuntiatum esset regi, postpositis
at B. 2.
quibusdam negotiis suis, ad mare transvol*avit;* et navibus [85] adscensis
ue B. 2.
apud Portesm*utam*, in crastino applicuit apud Barbefluctum in Normannia,
et B. 2.
scilicet sexto idus Augusti, feria quinta. Et duxit secum Br*a*ibacenos suos et mille Walenses; et duxit secum Willelmum regem Scotiæ, et comitem Leicestriæ, et comitem Cestriæ, et incarceravit eos apud Cadomum, et
eisiam B. 2.
postea apud Fal*esiam*.

Ex Imaginibus historiarum autore Radulfo de Diceto. (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, edente Rogero Twysden. Londini, typis Jacobi Fletcher... M DC LII, folio [2].)

Col. 571, l. 14. Rex filius Philippum Flandrensem comitem, Mathæum fratrem suum, comitem Boloniensem, multis et magnis promissionibus emollitos, instigatione regis Francorum suam traxit in partem. Qui quamtocius multitudinem armatorum sub edicto vocantes, primoribus Flandriæ renitentibus, intraverunt cum eo Normanniam in superbia magna. Castellum itaque de Albamarle, quod sine quorumdam ignominia dici non potest, est celeriter expugnatum. Willelmus comes dominus ejusdem castri, comes Simon, et alii plures capti sunt intus, et ad redemptionem compulsi. Qui duo proditionem ab aliis, non a suis, factam captionis suæ traxerunt in culpam. Castello juxta voluntatem comitis custodiæ deputato, obsederunt Drivencurt castrum munitissimum, et militibus electis commissum; sed quoniam ubi caput languidum est, membra robusta suum non possunt exercere vigorem, expugnatum est et ipsum armis eisdem, assultu consimili, eo infortunio quo et castellum de Albamarle, et similiter custodiæ deputatum. Cum inde progrederentur versus castrum Arches, Boloniensis comes in festo sancti Jacobi a quodam marchione vulneratur ad mortem: quod divino judicio factum esse pro certo cognoscimus. Nam quia propositis et tactis sacrosanctis reliquiis, inter quas et manus sancti Jacobi præsentialiter habebatur, quinquennio jam transacto, in festo sancti Jacobi fidelitatem patris regis juraverat, et sicut modo apparuit, in omnium oculis dejeraverat, in ultionem tanti sceleris, in die festo sancti Jacobi letali vulnere percussus est. Philippus comes de reditu

[1] B. 1, f. 58.

[2] The greatest part of this fragment is to be found also in the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, vol. XIII, p. 192, B — p. 195, D.

festino sollicitus, cum victoria simul et cum gaudio remeasset ad propria, nisi quia proditionis nota suos denigraret successus, et nisi quia mors fratris, quæ imminebat, dubios belli eventus sibi repromitteret in futurum. Rediit itaque per comitatum Aucensem, quem rex filius potestati suæ jam totum subjecerat.

Rex pater eo tempore morabatur Rothomagi, ut populo videbatur, æquo animo ferens quæ fiebant in terra, frequentius solito venatui totus indulgens, venientibus ad se vultum hylaritatis prætendens, aliquid extorquere volentibus patienter respondens. Hi quos ab annis puerilibus enutrierat, hi quos donaverat cingulo militari, hi quos domesticos prius habuerat et in consiliis familiarissimos, cotidie dilabebantur ab eo, credentes ejus dejectionem futuram in brevi, filii dominationem arbitrantes procedere juxta regis Francorum et principum voluntatem. Qui ut causam ejus foverent attentius, eum cum tanta sollicitudine, cum tantis expensis, cum tanto discrimine promovere curabant, se, sua suosque contemplatione ipsius diversis generibus mortium, rapinis, deprædationi[572]bus et incendiis incunctanter exponere minime dubitantes.

Ut audivit rex pater Philippum Flandrensem comitem a Normannia recessisse, quantum potuit subito congregavit exercitum, ut si regem Francorum intra fines Normanniæ repperisset, prælium iniret cum illo.

Obsesso Vernolio idus Julii, an lignis, an lapidibus undique comportatis Franci fossatum repleverint et redegerint in planitiem, noli quærere. Ne quæras etiam an ad subvertendum castrum erexerint machinas muris altis etiam altiores, an impetus faciendo resistentes attriverint, an fundis balearibus lapides jaciendo dejecerint propugnacula. Nam quotiens parati ad pugnam Franci muros appropinquare condexerant, a Normannis gravi semper affecti jactura repellebantur.

Intra septa Vernolii burgum quoddam, a divitibus mixtim et pauperibus inhabitatum, alto clausum muro, certis distinctum limitibus, proprio designatum vocabulo, Burgum videlicet Reginæ, quoniam a tempore obsidionis pauperum et debilium intus fuerat multitudo conclusa, fame cœpit periclitari. Quod cum ad regis Francorum noticiam pervenisset, Burgi portas sibi petiit aperiri, lege proposita, quod, si quis intra triduum proximum subveniret Burgo conclusis, quod impossibile judicabat, ab omni læsione servarentur indempnes. Hoc observandum legitime Robertus comes frater regis Francorum, Henricus comes de Campania, Theobaldus comes Blesensis, nomine regis Francorum sacramento firmarunt.

Henricus rex Angliæ, secum habens Rothomagensem archiepiscopum, episcopos plures, comitem Willelmum de Mannavilla, Ricardum comitem de Estringuil, qui nuper ab Hybernia venerat, proceres plurimos, multitudinem armatorum tam equitum quam peditum, quos ab urbibus et castellis salva ipsorum custodia jam evocaverat, impiger advolat ad succurrendum Burgo conclusis; et ipsa die qua datæ fuerunt induciæ, ipsa die qua rex Francorum receptus est intra Burgum, marchionum catervis, Brebantinorum cohortibus faciem suam præcedentibus, figit tentoria loco castris idoneo, sed ab exercitu Francorum aliquantisper remoto, scilicet apud Conchas. In crastino dispositis aciebus, et quæ ad pugnam necessaria videbantur ex ordine pertractatis, nuntios dirigit in mandatis habentes verbis pacificis dicere regi Francorum quatinus a Normannia cum indempnitate suorum recederet, alioquin visitaret eum ipsa die, set in manu robusta. Quod audiens rex Francorum, cum sciret regem Angliæ fortissimum esse et amaro animo, veluti si ursa raptis catulis in saltu sæviat, fuga suis, ne dicam sibi, consulere potius quam pugnare decrevit, et sic veritus a facie regis Angliæ, conventionis oblitus quam inierat cum Burgensibus, et immemor sacramenti, Burgum succendit, spolia diripit,

captivos abducit, et equum velociorem ascendens intra Galliam se cum festinatione recepit. Impedimenta Francorum Normannis supervenientibus et obsessis data sunt in prædam; quæ esculenti et poculenti causa fuerant ad exercitum Francorum, sive plaustris, sive quadrigis, sive bigis, sive summariis comportata, Brebantinis et marchonibus in direptionem cesserunt, v. idus Augusti.

Obsessa est Legecestria, v. non. Julii. Sumpti[573]bus, expensis, laboribus in obsidione consumptis, commodum inde proveniens non satis æqua lance respondit. Fortuito casu pro maxima parte civitate combusta, cives tractaverunt de pace. Marcis itaque trecentis a civibus numeratis et regis thesauro appensis, data est eis licencia recedendi et abeundi quo vellent, compositis sarcinis, dummodo vel in urbibus, vel in castellis, vel in villis regiis habitandi locum assumerent. Illis abeuntibus, subversæ sunt portæ civitatis, pars murorum destructa, militibus castello conclusis datæ induciæ usque ad festum sancti Michaelis. Et sic soluta est obsidio, v. kal. Augusti.

Rex Scottorum Willelmus quæ in provincia Northanhymbrorum avo suo regi David fuerant donata, tradita, cartis confirmata, quæ etiam fuerant ab ipso tempore longe possessa, repetens a rege patre, sed repulsam inveniens, congregavit exercitum, habens multitudinem infinitam Galwalensium, agilem, nudam, calvitie multa notabilem, sinistrum latus munientem cultellis, armatis quibuslibet formidandis, jaculis jaciendis et dirigendis in longinquum manum habentem aptissimam, lanceam longam cum ad bellum progreditur erigentem pro signo. Per fines itaque Hugonis episcopi Dunelmensis securum transitum habens, rex Scotiæ cœpit Angliam depopulari, succendere villas, innumerabilem congregare prædam, captivas abducere mulierculas, a prægnantium uteris infantes semivivos abstrahere. Ad propulsandam ergo tantam et talem injuriam, Angliæ magnates arma cum ea qua fieri potuit acceleratione sumentes, regem Scotiæ subito fugam arripere coegerunt et infra Scotiam se recipere. Qui sequentes ejus vestigia, totum Loheneis vastaverunt incendio; quicquid repertum est extra muros datum est Anglis in direptionem. Et sic ad petitionem regis Scotorum datis induciis usque ad festum sancti Hylarii, magnates Angliæ cum victoria redierunt.

Robertus comes Legecestriæ, consumpta pecunia quam ab Anglia secum asportaverat, reversurus in Angliam et per Flandriam transitum habens, cum uxore, cum supellectile venit aput Witsant, ubi tam Normannorum quam Flandrensium, tam equitum quam peditum, plurima comitante caterva, navem ascendit; et velis in altum expassis, appulsus est in Suthfolc aput Waletonam, 3. kalendis Octobris. Qui navibus cum festinatione remissis, ad expugnandum castrum in supercilio montis constructum diebus iiij. laboravit; et licet comitem Hugonem Bigod, et quotquot poterat congregare cum machinis, in auxilium habuisset, excelsæ turri muris fundatæ fortissimis nocere non potuit. Inde progrediens post aliquot dies, iij. scilicet idus Octobris, castellum de Hageneth invasit, cepit, succendit, xxx. fere milites intus captos ad redemptionem coegit. Regrediens ad Famelingeham, cum mora ejus onerosa Hugoni Bigod domino castri videretur, set uxori ipsius Hugonis plurimum odiosa, necessitate compulsus ad Legecestriam visitandam animum direxit et gressum. Subitum igitur iter arripiens, proposuit a læva relinquere burgum sancti Edmundi: quod exercitum regis patris, qui tunc temporis ad patriam conservandam inibi morabatur, latere non potuit. Stipatus milite multo comes et paratus ad pugnam, in tribus milibus Flandrensium armatorum, quos viæ participes tunc habebat, confi[574]debat non minimum. Verum si milites regis militibus comitis conferantur, regalium numerus militiam comitis excedet in quadruplum.

Si vero capita capitibus sub æqua dinumeratione respondeant, si armatorum hinc inde copiam tam equestrem quam pedestrem, æqua lance quis colligat, multo plures erant cum comite, quam qui steterant ex adverso. Inito ergo certamine, et ictibus ictuum multiplicitate repulsis, post varios belli eventus, comes, comitissa, quotquot Normannorum et Francorum cum eis venerant, capiuntur xvj. kal. Novembris. Flandrensium pars major occiditur, pars quædam submergitur, minima pars ad vincula subeunda pertrahitur. Hugo de Castello capitur, et Walterus de Wahelle.

Rege patre moram faciente Rothomagi, nuntiatum est electam regis filii regis militiam apud Dolensem urbem a Brebantinis suis circumclusam. Qui statim equi dorsum insiliens, et eum calcaribus urgens, prima nocte aput Tenerchebrai paululum dormiendo quievit. Sequenti mane in Britanniam veniens, scilicet ad Dol, militiam filii per dies aliquot repugnantem insimul comprehendit. Inimicorum suorum multitudo permaxima, priusquam veniret, a Brebantinis fuerat interempta. Captus est comes Cestrensis, Radulphus dominus Fulgeriarum, Radulphus de Haia, Willelmus Patritius, Hasculphus de Sancto-Hylario, et cum istis fere quater viginti milites.

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Congregatus est infinitus exercitus aput Colecestriam, aput Sanctum-Eadmundum, aput Gipeswic, ad superbiam Hugonis comitis reprimendam. Qui cum posset, sicut plurimis videbatur, expugnari de facili, quia Flandrensium multitudo quæ ad eum confluxerat, si fuisset in castello conclusa, pro penuria victualium deperisset, proh pudor! Angliæ magnates interventu pecuniæ, sicut dicitur, datis et acceptis induciis usque ad octabas Pentecostes, securum xiiij. milibus Flandrensium armatorum per Essexam, per Cantiam invenerunt conductum, et naves ad transfretandum paratas apud Dovram.

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An. Domini 1174. Rex filius regis comitem Theobaldum, comitem Perticensem [Rotrodum, Joannem] comitem de Soenis, et cum eis milites fere quingentos habens in comitatu, Sagiensem urbem invasit; sed civibus etiam sine principe, etiam sine duce viriliter resistentibus, nichil profecit.

Rogerus de Munbrai regis patris a fidelitate recedens, in Axiholme castellum ab antiquo constructum, set nunc temporis dirutum, reædificavit. Multitudo Lincolniensium in eam insulam transvecta navigio castellum obsedit, constabularium cepit, milites intus inclusos pro aquæ penuria laborante, ad deditionem coegit iiij. non. Maii. Rursus castellum intra dies paucissimos subversum est.

Rex pater dubitans ne vel rex filius, vel quilibet alii marchiæ vicinantes, intra suos fines irrumperent et Normanniam devastarent, eam domesticis familiaribus et fidelibus suis, lateri suo jugiter prius adhærentibus, custodiendam commisit. [575] Ipse vero duobus solummodo secum assumptis, scilicet Aluredo de Vavaci, Gaufrido Esturmi, qua fide sui stare cum eo proposuerant experiri proponens, ingressus Cenomanniam 2. kal. Maii, Cenomannicis undique confluentibus, et ad suum per omnia paratis obsequium, si vel bellum ingrueret, vel aliud immineret discrimen, vel etiam mortis instaret periculum. Transiens ergo per patriam, multis militum stipatus catervis, animos suorum in se corroborans, de finibus terræ muniendis et defendendis proceres terræ illius satis exortans, cum attigisset Andegaviæ fines, universos remisit, duos quos prænominavimus habens in comitatu. Andegavenses celerius et celebrius Cenomannicis occurrerunt regi: multo enim devotius, multo alacrius, multo instantius ad omnia quæ rex proponeret, se suo submiserunt arbitrio. Omnibus inibi pro voluntate

completis, diem Pentecostes Pictavis celebravit : ubi cum audisset Ricardi filii sui militiam urbem Santonicam occupasse, sumptis secum Pictaviensibus, ad eam liberandam cucurrit. Milites illi nec Deo nec Ecclesiæ sanctæ reverentiam exhibentes, majorem ecclesiam cum facibus et laternis ingressi sunt, et ipsam in castellum subito redigentes, armis et victualibus impleverunt. Cum autem rex citius quam milites credidissent urbem appropinquasset, et in tribus eam munitionibus nimis confidere satis edoctus fuisset, ad invadendum totus incubuit. Præsidium itaque primum, quod in ingressu civitatis fuerat ab antiquo constructum, subjugavit inprimis. Deinde progrediens, aggressus est fortuna consimili capitellum, præsidium majus, set præsidio primo multo antiquius. Ad ultimum accessit ad majorem ecclesiam, militibus multis et armatis refertam, oppressam a sagittariis, a lenocinantibus conculcatam. Accessit, attendens quod in religionem divinam committitur, illud in omnium fertur injuriam. Accessit, inquam, non ut ecclesiam impugnaret, non ut violaret, non ut contaminaret, set pocius ut eam emundaret a sordibus. Extraxit ab ecclesia violatores ecclesiæ. Extraxit, *nam frustra legem invocat qui legem impugnat*. Capti sunt intus, tam in hac scilicet munitione quam in duabus aliis, milites circiter Lx., sagittarii circiter CCCC. Præscius eorum quæ fiebant in Flandria, cogitabat de reditu. Sex viris illustribus Aquitanniam defendendam et conservandam commisit. In confinio Nannetensium et Andegavensium præsidium quoddam vocatum Ancenis opere sumptuoso construxit, ubi quid faber lignarius et sciret et posset manifestum fecit. Andegaviam, Cenomanniam et maxime castellum Ancenis, Mauritio de Creun tradidit custodiendum. Veniens in Normanniam, quos marchiæ suæ præfecerat, et quos constituerat custodes castrorum, sub edicto vocavit aput Bonam-Villam.

Philippus comes Flandrensium, præsente Ludovico rege, præsentibus regni Francorum majoribus, juraverat tactis sacrosantis reliquiis, quod infra xv. dies post instans festum sancti Johannis intraret Angliam in valida manu, et eam regis filii regis subjiceret potestati. Hac fiducia tractus rex filius ij. idus Julii venit aput Witsand, Radulfum de la Haie cum militia multa transmissurus in Angliam. Flandrensis comes CCCxviij., non dicam expeditos vernaculos, set milites probatissimos et a Flandrensium multitudine selectos, ad [576] transfretandum præmisit. Qui postquam appulsi sunt in Angliam apud Airewellam, xviij. kal. Junii, sociis eorum pro maxima parte periclitatis, ilico comitem Hugonem secum assumentes, invaserunt Norwicum, ceperunt, prædati sunt, infinitam inde pecuniam asportarunt, multos abduxerunt captivos, et ad redemptionem gravissimam coegerunt, xiiij. kal. Julii.

Justiciarii regis videntes mala quæ fiebant in terra, cum multos nuntios transmisissent, nec quicquam certi de reditu regis patris in Angliam suscepissent; ad ultimum necessitate compulsi, de communi consilio transmiserunt Ricardum Wintoniensem electum, quem pro certo sciebant cæteris multo familiarius, multo ardentius, multo instantius locuturum cum rege; gentis suæ dampna, necessitates, pericula fidelius expositurum; procerum simultates, civium instabilitatem, acclamationem vulgi frequenter in deteriora proclivem, cupidam novorum, ad motus quoslibet reprimendos difficilem, securius ostensurum. Electus itaque celeri navigatione transvectus invenit regem aput Bonam-Villam, generale colloquium cum Normannis habentem in festo sancti Johannis.

Normanni Wintoniensis electi adventum intelligentes et causam, dixirunt : "Cum Angli tot emiserunt nuntios, et istum nunc dirigunt, quid amplius aliud transmissuri sunt ad regem revocandum in Angliam, nisi Turrim Lundoniæ?"

Rex nuntium talem cum debita veneratione suscipiens, quantam fidem verbis ejus habuerit probavit eventus. Nam ipsa die de limitibus patriæ muniendis et conservandis, de custodia castellorum cum familiaribus suis pertractans, se cum tota domo sua præparavit ad reditum, reginam Alienor, reginam Margaritam, filium et filiam Johannem et Johannam, et uxores filiorum suorum intra paucos dies secum adducens. Comitem quoque Cestrensem, Legecestrensem comitissam, et alios plures quos habebat in vinculis, ante faciem suam præmisit aput Barbefle, ubi plurimis navibus religatis plurima turba morabatur, regis transfretationem expectans. Brebantinorum Marchionum innumera manus cum armis et impedimentis transfretavit aput Ostream. Cum autem rex festinasset ad portum octavo idus Junii, avulsis a littore navibus, summo mane navem ascendit. Velis igitur in altum expassis, visæ sunt undæ multo intensius intumescere: ventus enim ad horam increscens, et remissus ad horam, transitum ea die nautis reddebat suspectum. Quorum facies regi visa suppressior aliquid innuit dubitationis subesse. Set cum rex ventum ex directo venire, navem cursum in Angliam via recta dirigere, flatus creberrimos vehementer ingravescere didicisset, erectis in cœlum luminibus, palam omnibus ait: "Si quæ ad pacem sunt cleri et populi habeam in proposito, si pacem in adventu meo reformandam Rex cœlorum disposuit, tunc pro sua misericordia portum michi indulgeat salutis! Si autem fuerit aversus, et regnum in virga visitare decreverit, nunquam michi datum sit vel fines regionis attingere!" Orationem ejus auditam sui satis præsumere potuerunt; quoniam ipsa die qua navem ascenderat, hora diei vesperascente, cum indempnitate rerum aput Hamonis Portum appulsus est. Extunc utens tenui diæta, pane scilicet et aqua, rerum curam disponendarum omittens, abstinens a [577] civitatum ingressu quousque vota orationum aput Thomam martyrem gloriosum cum devotione persolveret, interjacens itaque spacium cum acceleratione pertransit. Cum autem appropinquasset Cantuariam, equo desiliens et regiam prorsus majestatem sequestrans, nudus pedes, faciem peregrinantis, faciem pœnitentis, faciem supplicantis assumens, iiij. idus Junii, vj. feria, pervenit ad majorem ecclesiam. Inde cum affluentia lacrimarum, cum gemitibus et suspiriis peciit martyris gloriosi sepulchrum; ubi toto corpore prostratus, manibus expassis, diutius in oratione permansit. Interim ore Lundoniensis episcopi sermonem habentis ad populum rex publice protestatus est, Deum testem vocans in animam suam, quod mortem archiepiscopi nec mandavit, nec voluit, nec artificio perquisivit. Sed quoniam interfectores ex verbis suis non satis circumspecte prolatis occasionem sumpsissent, ab episcopis qui præsentes tunc aderant absolutionem petebat, et carnem disciplinæ supponens virgis cæsus est, a singulis viris religiosis, quorum multitudo convenerat, ternos ictus vel etiam quinos excipiens. Surgens ab oratione, vestibus resumptis quas prius exuerat, muneribus preciosis preciosissimum martyrem honoravit, assignans insuper annuos redditus xl. libras ad luminaria jugiter circa martyrem in venerationem martyris concinnanda. Sic reliquum diei totam quoque noctem sequentem in amaritudine animæ suæ transegit, deditus orationi, vigiliis deditus, jejunium usque in tercium diem continuans. Et quia spiritus contribulatus, cor contritum et humiliatum acceptissimum Deo sacrificium est, cum tociens ad exemplum regis David clamando repetierit: *Peccavi Domino, peccavi Domino,* audire meruit a propheta: *Dominus quoque transtulit peccatum tuum.* Quin martyrem sibi placabilem jam reddiderit, quin peccatum ejus translatum possimus prædicare securi, non est qui dubitet. Nam ipsa die sabbati qua indulgentiam sibi dari postulabat a martyre, sepulchrum martyris frequenter deosculans, tradidit Deus Willelmum regem Scottorum in manus

"Evigilabunt rugientes catuli, et postpositis nemoribus infra mœnia civitatum venabuntur. Stragem non minimam ex obstantibus facient, et linguas taurorum abscindent. Colla rugientium onerabunt catenis, et avita tempora renovabunt." Rex ergo pater omnibus imperatoribus et regibus quos sibi putabat amicos, de infortunio quod ei acciderat per promotionem quam ipse filiis suis fecerat, conquestus est, ne ipsi exaltent filios suos supra id quod debent, commonens. Unde Willielmus rex Siciliæ ei in hac forma scripsit.

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Itaque statim post Pascha (ut supra dictum est) exarsit nefanda proditorum rabies. Ipsi enim furore diabolica debacchati, circumquaque devastabant igne et gladio terras regis Angliæ cismarinas et transmarinas. Philippus autem comes Flandriæ cum magno exercitu intravit Normanniam, et obsedit Albemarle et cepit eam. Et procedens inde obsedit castellum de Drincurt, et redditum est ei; ubi et Mathæus frater ejus comes Boloniæ ex inopinato ictu sagittæ percussus, obiit. Quo defuncto, Petrus frater ejus, electus Cambriensis ecclesiæ, successit ei in comitatu Boloniæ; et renuntians electioni suæ factus est miles, et paulo post obiit sine prole.

Interim Lodowicus rex Francorum et rex Angliæ filius obsederunt Vernolium; sed Hugo de Lasci et Hugo de Bello-Campo, qui inde constabularii erant, villam Vernolii viriliter et constanti animo defenderunt. Attamen cum rex Franciæ ibi per mensem moram fecisset, vix expugnavit portiunculam villæ illius, ex parte illa ubi machinæ suæ bellicæ positæ erant. Erant quidem infra Vernolium tres burgi præter castellum; et unusquisque illorum separatus erat ab altero, et interclusus forti muro et fossa aqua plena, et unus illorum dicebatur magnus Burgus, ubi extra murum fixa erant tentoria regis Franciæ et machinæ illius bellicæ. In fine autem illius mensis, cum burgenses de Burgo magno viderent quod victus et necessaria eis defecissent, nec haberent quid manducarent; compulsi fame et inopia, inducias triduanas ceperunt a rege Franciæ eundi ad dominum suum regem Angliæ, propter succursum ab eo habendum. Et nisi infra sequens triduum succursum haberent, redderent ei Burgum illum. Et statutus est eis dies peremptorius in vigilia sancti Laurentii; et dederunt regi Franciæ obsides inde, et rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ filius et comes Robertus frater [535] regis Franciæ, et comes Henricus de Trois, et comes Theobaldus de Blais, et Willielmus archiepiscopus Senonensis juraverunt eis quod, si ipsi reddidissent Burgum illum regi Franciæ ad terminum statutum, rex Franciæ redderet eis obsides suos liberos et quietos, et quod eis nullum damnum faceret, nec ab aliis fieri permitteret. His ergo ita concessis, supra dicti burgenses venerunt ad dominum suum regem Angliæ, et indicaverunt ei conventionem quam fecerant cum rege Franciæ et rege filio suo. Quo audito, rex Angliæ pater congregavit totum exercitum quem habere poterat de Normannia et aliis terris suis; et venit usque Vertuel, castellum Roberti comitis Leicestriæ, quod ipse comes in adventu regis fugiens sine custode reliquit: quod ipse rex totum redegit in cineres. Et in crastino præliaturus cum rege Franciæ, processit usque in montem altum prope Vernolium cum exercitu suo, et disposuit acies suas ad bellum; et dies illa erat dies peremptorius in quo portio illa de Vernolio reddenda erat, nisi haberent succursum. Et Lodowicus rex Francorum misit Williemum Senonensem archiepiscopum, et comitem Henricum, et comitem Theobaldum, ad regem Angliæ patrem, et cœperunt colloquium inter eos in crastino. Et credidit illis rex Angliæ malo suo, quia deceptus est: rex namque Franciæ in crastino, nec ad colloquium venit, nec nuntium misit. Rex autem Angliæ miserat exploratores

suos ad explorandum statum regis Franciæ et exercitus ejus; et dum exploratores illi moram facerent, reddita est regi Franciæ portio illa de Vernolio quam obsederat. Sed ipse non ausus eam retinere, transgressus est sacramenta quæ ipse burgensibus fecerat: ipse namque obsides eorum non reddidit, nec pacem quam promiserat servavit; sed villam intravit, burgenses captivavit, catalla eorum asportavit, Burgum incendit, et fugiens duxit secum in Franciam prædictos burgenses. Quod cum regi Angliæ nuntiatum esset, secutus est eos in ore gladii et multos ex illis interfecit et quamplures cepit; et in crepusculo Vernolium venit, et ibi una nocte quievit, et muros qui ceciderant reædificari præcipit. Ut autem hæc in memoria habeantur, sciendum est quod hæc fuga regis Franciæ facta est quinto idus Augusti, feria quinta, in vigilia sancti Laurentii, ad laudem et gloriam Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui puniendo scelus perjurii, injuriam martyri suo illatam tam celeriter vindicavit. In crastino autem cum rex Angliæ pater a Vernolio recederet, cepit Dammevile castellum Gileberti de Tileres, et multos milites et servientes in eo cepit. Et inde venit rex Rothomagum, misitque inde Braibancenos suos, de quibus plus cæteris confidebat, in Brittanniam contra Hugonem comitem Cestriæ et Radulphum de Fulgeriis, qui eam jam fere totam occupaverant. Appropinquantibus autem illis, comes Cestriæ et Radulphus de Fulgeriis venerunt obviam illis. Disponitur itaque prope bellum, acies dirigitur, pugna paratur. Igitur conserto bello prosternuntur hostes regis Angliæ, Britones cadunt et vincuntur. Comes autem et Radulfus de Fulgeriis cum multis de potentioribus Brittanniæ incluserunt se infra turrim Doli, quam dolo ceperant; et Braibanceni obsederunt eos per circuitum, decimo tertio kalend. Septembris, feria secunda. Capti sunt autem in prælio illo a Braibancenis strenuissimi milites numero septendecim, quorum nomina hæc sunt: Hascuil de Sancto-Hilario, Willielmus Patric, Patric de la Lande, Haimeri de Faltisia, Gaufridus Farsi, Willielmus de Rulent, Radulfus de Sens, Johannes Pincerna, Vicarius de Dolo, Willielmus des Loges, Willielmus de la Mote, Robertus de Treham, Paganus Cornutus, Reginaldus Pinçun, Reginaldus de Campo-Lamberti, Eudo Bastardus. Præterea multi capti sunt tam equites quam pedites, et plus quam mille quingenti de Brittonibus interfecti sunt. In crastino autem hujus captionis et interfectionis,

> Fama malum, quo non aliud velocius ullum,
> Mobilitate viget,

pervenit ad aures regis Angliæ; qui statim iter suum versus Dolum arripiens, feria quinta illuc venit, statimque fecit parari perarias suas et alias machinas bellicas. Comes vero Cestriæ et qui infra turrim erant cum eo, non valentes eam defendere, reddiderunt eam regi, septimo kalend. Septembris, die dominica. Similiter et tota Brittannia reddita est ei cum munitionibus ejus, et principes ejus ducti sunt in captivitatem. Infra turrim Doli capti sunt milites et servientes multi, quorum nomina hæc sunt: Hugo comes Cestriæ, Radulfus de Fulgeriis, Hamo Spine, Ceones, Robertus Patricius, Ingeram Patricius, Richardus de Luvecot, Gwigain Guiun, Oliverus de Rupe, Alanus de Tintiniac, Juellus filius Radulfi de Fulgeriis, Gilo de Castello-Girun, Philippus de Landewi, Willielmus de Gorram, Juellus de Meduana, Gaufridus de Buisserio, Reginaldus de Marchia, le Marchis, Herveus de Vitri, Hamelinus de Eni, Willielmus de Sancto-Bricio, Willielmus del Chasteller, Willielmus de Orenge, Radulfus Waintras, Robertus Pincerna, Henricus de Grai, Grumbaldus filius Haket, Gaufridus Abbas, Johannes Caurein, Johannes

de Breerrec, Hugo Avenel, Hamelinus [536] de Pratellis, Swale de la Bosothe, Secardus Burdin, Walterus Bruo, Johemp Ramart, Hugo de Bussai, Jordanus de Masrua, Henricus de Sancto-Hilario, Philippus de Sancto-Hilario, fratres Hascuil, Bartholomæus de Busseria, Herbertus de Buillo, Bauran de Tanet, Rollandus filius Radulfi, Roellinus filius Radulfi, Gaufridus de Minihac, Guido Butefact, Celdewinus Guiun, Juellus de Ponte, Hamelinus Abbas, Robertus de Bajochis, Elias de Aubenni, Reginaldus Cattus, Johannes de Curtizt, Philippus de Luvenni, Henricus de Wastinis, Henricus de Sancto-Stephano, Willielmus de Capella, Rogerus des Loges, Bencellardus de Serlando, Willielmus de Bosco-Berengerii, Johannes de Ruella, Oliver de Munsorel, Hamundus de Rocheford, Robertus de l'Espinei, Johannes del Loges, Gaufridus Carloel, Radulfus de Tomal, Radulfus li Poters, Gillebertus de Croe, Radulfus Pucin, Mathæus de Praels, Richardus de Cumbrai, Willielmus li Franceis, Oliver Rande, Radulfus Ruffin, Springad, Rogerus de Chevereulle, Willielmus de Loges, et alii multi quorum nomina non scribuntur in libro hoc. Post has igitur victorias quas Deus contulit regi Angliæ filio Matildis imperatricis, rex Franciæ et fautores sui deciderunt in desperationem, et modis omnibus nitebantur ut pax fieret inter regem Angliæ et filios suos.

Convenerunt ergo ad ultimum inter Gisortium et Trie, Lodowicus rex Francorum, cum archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus et baronibus regni sui, adducens secum Henricum et Richardum et Gaufridum filios regis Henrici Angliæ; et Henricus rex Angliæ pater cum archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus et baronibus terræ suæ. Et habitum est ibi colloquium de pace facienda inter ipsum et filios suos, 7. kal. Octob., feria tertia. In quo colloquio rex Angliæ pater obtulit regi filio suo medietatem redditum dominicorum suorum Angliæ, et quatuor castra idonea in eadem terra. Aut si filius suus mallet morari in Normannia, rex pater obtulit ei medietatem reddituum Normanniæ, et omnes redditus terræ patris sui comitis Andegaviæ, et tria castra idonea in Normannia, et unum castrum in Andegavia idoneum, et unum castrum in Cenomannia idoneum, et unum castrum in Turonica idoneum. Richardo etiam filio suo obtulit medietatem reddituum Aquitaniæ, et quatuor castella in eadem terra idonea; et Gaufrido filio suo obtulit terram illam quæ contingebat jure hæreditario filiam comitis Conani, si ipse præfatam mulierem assensu domini papæ posset sibi in matrimonium copulare. Supposuit etiam rex pater se omnino arbitrio archiepiscopi Tharentensis et legatorum domini papæ, ut tantum de redditibus superadderet et daret filiis suis quantum illi dicerent æquum, retenta sibi justitia et regia potestate. Sed non fuit de consilio regis Franciæ ut filii regis hanc pacem cum patre suo facerent. In eodem autem colloquio Robertus comes Leicestriæ multa convitia et opprobria dixit regi Angliæ patri, et apposuit manum gladio ut percuteret regem; sed prohibitum est ei a circumstantibus, et in his finitum est colloquium. In crastino autem colloquii, milites regis Franciæ inierunt congressum cum militibus regis Angliæ, inter Curteles et Gisorz; in quo conflictu, Ingeramus castellanus de True captus est a comite Willielmo de Mandewile, et traditus est regi patri.

Interim Robertus comes Leicestriæ magno congregato exercitu transfretavit in Angliam, et comes Hugo Bigot suscepit eum in castello de Fremingham, et ministravit ei necessaria. Deinde idem comes Leicestriæ obsedit Hafenech castellum Ranulfi de Broc, et cepit illud. In tempore autem illo Richardus de Luci justitiarius Angliæ, et Humfredus de Boun regis constabularius, profecti fuerant cum exercitu magno in Lonais terram regis Scotiæ ad devastandam eam. Qui cum audissent adventum comitis Leicestriæ in Angliam, timuerunt valde; et omnibus aliis negotiis

postpositis, dederunt et cæperunt inducias a rege Scotiæ; datisque hinc et inde obsidibus de pace servanda usque ad festum sancti Hillarii, festinato cursu pervenerunt ad Sanctum-Eadmundum. Veneruntque illuc ad eos Reginaldus comes Cornubiæ avunculus regis, et Robertus comes Gloucestriæ, et Willielmus comes de Arundel. Appropinquante igitur festo omnium Sanctorum, prædictus comes Leicestriæ recessit de Fremingham ad Leicestriam iturus, venitque cum exercitu suo prope Sanctum-Eadmundum in loco qui dicitur Forneham, in quodam marisco, non longe ab ecclesia sanctæ Genovefæ. Cujus adventu cognito, præfati comites cum exercitu magno, et Humfridus de Boun cum trecentis militibus solidariis regis, exierunt armati obviam comiti Leicestriæ, præferentes sibi vexillum sancti Eadmundi regis et martyris pro signo. Et ordinatis aciebus suis, in virtute Dei et gloriosissimi martyris sui Eadmundi, percusserunt aciem in qua comes Leicestriæ erat; et in momento, in ictu oculi victus est comes Leicestriæ et captus, et uxor ejus, et Hugo de Castellis vir nobilis de regno Francorum, et omnis eorum virtus demolita est. Et ceciderunt in prælio illo plusquam decem millia Flandrensium; cæteri autem omnes capti et vinculis et carceribus mancipati, fame et inopia perierunt. Comes vero Leicestriæ et uxor ejus, et Hugo de Castellis, et cæteri ditiores qui cum eis [537] capti fuerant, missi sunt in Normanniam ad regem patrem; et rex incarceravit eos apud Faleisiam, et Hugonem comitem Cestriæ cum eis. In festo autem sancti Martini venit rex pater in Andegaviam cum exercitu suo, et paulo post Gaufridus dominus de Haia reddidit ei castellum de Haia. Deinde redditum est ei castellum de Pruilli, et castellum de Campeni, quod Robertus de Blé tenuit contra eum. In quo castello multi milites et servientes capti sunt, quorum nomina hæc sunt: Haimericus de Blé, Baldewinus de Brise-haia, Hugo de La-loc, Hugo de Danars, Hugo de la Mote, Willielmus de Rivan, Simon de Bernezai, Johannes Maumonie, Hubertus Ruscevals, Willielmus Maingot, Saerus Terreis, Johan. de Champenni, Walterus de Poviz, Bricius de Ceaus, Haimericus Ripant, Robertus Anglicus, Grossinus Champemain, Isrinbert Wellun, Gaufridus Carré, Paganus Judex, Willielmus Bugun; Casteius, homo Saeri de Terreis; Gwiardus, homo Johannis Maumoniæ; Rogerus, homo Willielmi Rivan; Petrus, homo Johannis de Champemie; Philippus, homo Hugonis le Davis; Russellus, homo Huberti Ruscevaus; Vulgerius, Haimericus, homines Petri de Posci; Hosmundus, Everardus, Gaufridus, homines Haimerici de Blé; Gilbertus, Albinus, homines Hugonis de La-loc; Brito, Gaufridus, homines Walteri Poviz; Haimericus, Petrus, homines Hugonis de Mota; Brito et Sunennum, homines Simonis de Bernezai. Eodem anno Lodowicus rex Francorum fecit Richardum Henrici regis filium militem. Eodem anno Robertus præpositus Dari, qui electus erat episcopus ecclesiæ de Arraz, illam refutavit electionem, et factus est electus episcopus ecclesiæ de Chambrai; sed antequam consecraretur, ab inimicis suis interfectus est. Eodem anno Henricus rex Angliæ pater, contra prohibitionem Henrici regis filii sui et post appellationem factam ad dominum papam, dedit Richardo priori de Dowere archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem, et Reginaldo filio Jocelini Salesbiriensis episcopi episcopatum Batoniensem, et Richardo de Juecestre Pictavensi archidiacono episcopatum Wintoniensem, et Roberto Foliot episcopatum Herefordensem, et Gaufrido Ridel Cantuariensi archidiacono episcopatum Eliensem, et Johanni de Greneford episcopatum Cicestrensem. Deinde in festo sancti Andreæ rex Angliæ pater per vim cepit Vendomiam, quam Bucardus de Lavardin contra eum tenuit, expulso inde suo comite de Vendomia.

Anno gratiæ 1174, qui est annus vicesimus regni regis Henrici filii

Matildis imperatricis, idem Henricus fuit in festo Nativitatis Dominicæ apud Cadomum in Normannia, et datæ sunt treugæ inter ipsum et Lodowicum regem Francorum a festo sancti Hilarii usque ad clausum Pascha. Eodem anno et tempore supradicto Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, habito colloquio inter ipsum et Willielmum regem Scottorum in confinio regnorum Angliæ et Scotiæ, videlicet apud Revedeur, dedit regi Scottorum prædicto trecentas marcas argenti de terris baronum Northumbriæ, pro habendis treugis a festo sancti Hilarii usque ad clausum Pascha. Interim Rogerus de Moubrai firmavit castellum apud Kinardeferie in Haxiholm, et Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus firmavit castellum apud Alvertun. Post Pascha, diruptis treugis, Henricus filius regis Angliæ et Philippus comes Flandriæ, magno congregato exercitu, in Angliam venire proposuerunt. Interim Willielmus rex Scottorum venit in Northumbriam cum exercitu magno, et ibi per Scottos et Galawenses suos execrabiliter egit; nam sui mulieres prægnantes findebant, et fœtus extractos super lancearum acumina jactabant. Infantes, pueros, juvenes, senes, utriusque sexus, a maximo usque ad minimum sine ulla redemptione et misericordia interfecerunt. Sacerdotes autem et clericos in ipsis ecclesiis super altaria detruncabant. Quæcunque igitur Scotti et Galawenses attingebant, plena erant horroris et immanitatis. Deinde rex Scottorum misit David fratrem suum usque Leicestere ad succurrendum militibus comitis Leicestriæ; sed antequam illuc veniret, Reginaldus Cornubiæ et Richardus de Luci justiciarius Angliæ combusserunt villam de Leicestre totam cum ecclesiis et ædificiis, excepto castello. Post Pentecostem vero Anketillus Mallore constabularius Leicestriæ, commisso prælio cum burgensibus de Northamptun, et eos [1] devicit et ex illis plusquam ducentos cepit, et quamplures interfecit. Robertus autem de Ferrers comes, una cum militibus Leicestriæ, venit diluculo ad Nottingham villam regis, quam Reginaldus de Luce custodivit; et eam cepit et combussit et prædavit, et burgenses captivos secum duxit. Eo tempore Gaufridus Lincolniensis electus, Henrici regis filius, cepit castellum de Kinardeferie et subvertit. Robertus vero de Mubrai ejusdem castelli constabularius, dum iret versus Leicestre pro auxilio, in ipso itinere captus est de hominibus de Clay et retentus. Item comes Hugo Bigot infregit civitatem de Noretwiz et combussit. Item Gaufridus Lincolniensis electus, una cum Rogero Eboracensi archiepiscopo, obsedit Malesart castellum Rogeri de Mubrai et cepit, et multos milites et servientes in eo; et tradidit illud Eboracensi archiepiscopo custodiendum. Et antequam recederet, firmavit castellum apud Topecliwe, quod et tradidit Willielmo de Stutevile in custodia.

[538]... Eodem anno, in festo nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptistæ, Richardus de Luci obsedit castellum de Huntedun; milites vero castelli villam combusserunt. Et Richardus de Luci novum castellum firmavit ante portas castelli de Huntedun supradicti, et tradidit illud comiti Simoni. Interea Willielmus rex Scottorum obsedit Carleolum, quod Robertus de Vals in custodia habuit. Et dimissa parte exercitus sui in obsidione castelli, ipse cum reliqua parte exercitus sui perambulavit Northumbriam, terram regis et baronum suorum devastans. Et cepit castellum de Lidel, et castellum de Burgo, et castellum de Appelbi, et castellum de Werewrde, et castellum Irebothe, quod Odonellus de Umframville tenuit, et postea rediit ad obsidionem Carleoli; et tamdiu ibi moram fecit, donec Robertus de Vals, victu sibi et cæteris inclusis deficiente, cum eo pacem fecit in hunc modum: quod ad festum sancti Michaelis proximo sequens, redderet ei castellum et villam Carleoli, nisi interim haberet succursum a domino

[1] *Al. Confecit.*

suo rege Angliæ. Rex vero Scottorum procedens inde, obsedit Prudehou castellum Odonelli de Umframville; sed illud capere non potuit. Nam Robertus de Stutevile vicecomes Eboraci, et Willielmus de Vesci, et Ranulphus de Glamvile, et Radulphus de Tilli constabularius familiæ Rogeri Eboracensis archiepiscopi, et Bernardus de Bailol, et Odonellus de Umframvile, magno congregato exercitu, illo ire properabant. Quorum adventu cognito, rex Scotiæ inde recedens obsedit Alnewic castellum Willielmi de Vesci; et dividens exercitum suum in tres partes, unam secum retinuit, et reliquis duabus præfecit comitem Dunecanum et comitem de Anegus et Rich. de Morevile; et præcepit ut ipsi circumjacentes devastarent provincias, homines interficerent, et prædas abducerent. Proh dolor! tunc audires clamorem mulierum, ululatus senum, gemitus morientium, desperationem juvenum. Interea rex Angliæ filius et Philippus comes Flandriæ venerunt cum magno exercitu usque Gravelinges, parati ad transfretandum in Angliam. Quo audito, rex Angliæ pater, qui profectus fuerat cum exercitu suo in Pictaviam, et multas munitiones, castra et Sanctonensem civitatem et duas turres in ea, quarum una vocabatur Turris Major, et ecclesiam episcopalem Sanctonensem, quam milites et servientes contra eum victu et armis munierant, ceperat, rediit in Andegaviam et cepit Ancenam villam Guionii de Ancenis juxta Sanctum-Florentium; et in ea munitionem fortissimam firmavit, et in manu sua retinuit, provinciamque circumjacentem igne et gladio devastavit. Vineas et arbores fructiferas eradicavit; et postea in Normanniam rediit, rege filio suo et comite Flandriæ adhuc moram facientibus apud Gravelinges: ventus enim erat illis contrarius, et transfretare non poterant. Venit ergo rex Angliæ pater ad Barbefleet, ubi naves multæ congregatæ erant in adventu ejus. Et sicut Domino placuit, ita factum est: sit nomen Domini benedictum, [539] qui virtute potenti vim venti mutavit in melius, et prosperum iter navigandi tam subito dedit illi! Ille enim, navibus ascensis, in crastino applicuit in Anglia apud Suthamtun, octavo idus Julii, feria secunda; et adduxit secum Alienor reginam uxorem suam, et Margaretam reginam filiam Lodowici regis Francorum, uxorem Henrici filii sui, et Robertum comitem Leicestriæ, et Hugonem comitem Cestriæ, quos statim custodiæ mancipavit.

In crastino autem ad beatum Thomam Cantuariensem martyrem peregre profectus est. Et cum appropinquasset, ex quo ecclesiam videre potuit in qua corpus beati martyris sepultum est, equum in quo sedebat deseruit; et extractis calceamentis, nudus pedes, et in pannis laneis per tria milliaria profectus est usque ad sepulcrum martyris, in tanta humilitate et cordis compunctione, ut credatur illius opus sine dubio extitisse, qui respicit terram et facit eam tremere. Vestigia autem ejus in via qua ambulabat, intuentibus apparuerunt sanguinolenta, et erant: sanguis enim multus a teneris pedibus ejus, lapidibus duris incisis, profluebat in terram. Cum autem ad tumbam veniret, pium erat intueri afflictiones quas faciebat cum fletu singultuoso, et disciplinas quas de manu episcoporum sacerdotumque plurimorum et monachorum recepit. Ibidem etiam ante sepulchrum beati martyris in oratione, in jejunio et planctu pernoctavit, adjutus plurimarum sanctorum virorum suffragiis. Dona autem et redditus quos ecclesiæ illi in remissione peccatorum suorum contulit, a memoria ecclesiæ nulla poterunt ratione divelli. In crastino autem summo mane missa audita inde recessit, tertio idus Julii, sabbato, Lundonias iturus. Et quoniam memor fuit Domini in toto corde suo, dedit illi Dominus victoriam de inimicis suis, et tradidit eos captivos in manu sua.

Igitur eadem die sabbati, quo ipse rex a Cantuaria recessit, captus est

Willielmus rex Scottorum apud Alnewic a præfatis militibus Eboracensis sciræ, qui secuti fuerant eum post recessum de Prudehou. Sic, sic raro antecedentem scelestum deserit pœna pede claudo. Captique sunt cum eo Richardus Cumin et Willielmus de Mortimer, Willielmus de Insula, Henricus Revel, Radulphus de Ver, Jordanus Flandrensis, Waldevus filius Baldewini de Bicre, Richardus Maluvel, et alii multi, qui sponte sua se capi permiserunt, ne viderentur in captione domini sui consensisse. Eodem die apud Herterpol applicuit Hugo comes de Bar supra Secaniam, nepos Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi, cum quadraginta militibus et quingentis Flandrensibus, pro quibus prædictus episcopus miserat; sed episcopus statim propter captionem regis Scotiæ permisit prædictos Flandrenses repatriare, datis prius illis liberationibus suis et donis quadraginta dierum. Comitem autem Hugonem et milites qui cum eo venerant, secum retinuit, et tradidit illis castellum suum de Alvertun in custodia. His ita gestis Uctredus filius Fergus et Gillebertus frater ejus, principes Galawensium, statim post captionem domini sui regis Scottorum regressi sunt in terram suam, et ministros regis a finibus suis expulserunt; Anglicos et Francigenas quos in terris suis invenerunt, sine misericordia interfecerunt; munitiones et castella quæ rex Scottorum in terris eorum firmaverat, obsederunt, ceperunt et cominuerunt. Regi vero Angliæ patri plurimum supplicaverunt et dona plurima obtulerunt, ut ipse eos a dominio regis Scotiæ eriperet et suo subjugaret imperio.

Interim Lodowicus rex Francorum, audita transfretatione regis patris in Angliam, et captione regis Scottorum, cui plurimum condoluit, revocavit regem Angliæ filium et Philippum comitem Flandriæ, qui adhuc morabantur apud Gravelinges. Qui cum ad eum redissent, obsedit Rothomagum ex omni parte, excepta illa quam fluvius Sequana præterfluit. Rex igitur pater, audita regis Scottorum captione, gavisus est gaudio magno valde; et gratias omnipotenti Deo et beato Thomæ martyri cum gratiarum actione persolvens, profectus est Huntendoniam et castellum obsedit: quod [1] traditum est ei die dominica proximo sequenti, duodecimo cal. Augusti. Milites vero et servientes qui erant in castello illo, reddiderunt se in misericordia regis, salvis vita et membris. Et statim perrexit rex inde cum exercitu suo versus Fremingham, castellum comitis Hugonis Bigot, ubi ipse comes cum magna Flandrensium multitudine fuit. Et cum rex venisset prope Fremingham, fixit tentoria sua in loco qui dicitur Seleham, et ibi nocte illa mansit. In crastino venit ad eum comes Hugo Bigot, et, facta cum eo pace, reddidit ei castellum de Fremingham et castellum de Bungaie; et cum magna difficultate impetravit a rege ut Flandrenses qui cum eo erant, sine impedimento possent repatriare. Ibidem vero equus Tostes de Sancto-Homero, cujusdam militis Templi, percussit regem in tibia et multum læsit. In crastino autem, videlicet septimo calendas Augusti, rex recessit de Seleham et perrexit Northamptoniam. Quo cum venisset, adductus est ei Willielmus rex Scottorum sub ventre equi compeditus. Venitque illuc ad eum Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, et tradidit ei castellum de Dunelmia et castellum de Norham et castellum de Alvertun novum, quod firmaverat; et vix impetravit ut comes de Bar nepos suus et milites qui cum eo venerant, in terram suam redire possent. Venit etiam ibidem ad regem Rogerus de Mulbrai, et reddidit ei [540] castellum de Tress. Et comes de Ferreres reddidit ei castellum de Tutesberie et de Duffeld. Et Anketillus Mallore et Willielmus de Dive, constabularii comitis Leicestriæ, reddiderunt ei castellum de Leicestria et de Muntsorel et de Grobi. Sic igitur infra tres hebdo-

[1] *Al. redditum.*

madas tota Anglia pacificata est, et omnes munitiones ejus traditæ sunt in manure gis. Quibus pro voluntate sua dispositis, ipse festinanter transfretavit de Anglia in Normanniam, et applicuit apud Barbeflet sexto idus Augusti, feria quinta ; et reduxit secum Braibancenos suos et mille Wallenses, et Villielmum regem Scottorum, et Robertum comitem Leicestriæ, et Hugonem comitem Cestriæ, et incarceravit eos primo apud Cadomum, deinde apud Faleise.

Ex Chronicis sive Appendice Roberti de Monte ad Sigibertum.

(*Venerabilis Guiberti abbatis B. Mariæ de Novigento Opera omnia...* studio et opera domni Lucæ d'Achery. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, sumptibus Ioannis Billaine, M. DC. LI, folio [1].)

P. 793, l. 8. In quadragesima (1173), quia rex Henricus senior removerat a consilio et famulatu filii sui Asculfum de Sancto-Hilario et alios equites juniores, ideo ille iratus recessit a patre, et venit Argentonium, et recessit inde noctu, pergens ad regem Francorum, nescientibus ministris suis, quos pater suus servitio suo deputaverat. Quem secutus est comes Robertus Mellenti, relinquens castella sua sine custodibus: quæ rex Henricus occupavit. Comes etiam Cestriæ Hugo, a Sancto-Jacobo Galliciensi rediens, secutus est eum, et Willelmus Patrik senior et tres filii ejus, et multi alii minoris nominis : quorum omnium domos et virgulta et sylvas rex evertit. Similiter regina Alienor et filii sui, Ricardus comes Pictavensis et Gaufredus comes Britanniæ, alienati sunt ab eo.

.....

Post Pascha Bernardus de Feritate vertit se et castellum suum regi juniori; similiter Galerandus de Ibera, Goscelinus Crispinus, Gillebertus de Tegulariis, Robertus de Monteforti, Raderus de Faie, Gaufridus de Lizenore, Hugo de Sancta-Maura et ipsius filius, et Willelmus camerarius de Tancharvilla veniens de Anglia.

Philippus comes Flandrensis cepit castrum de Aubimare, et in eodem comitem Willelmum dominum ipsius castri, et comitem [Ebroicensem] Simonem. Interea comes Aucensis Henricus subdidit se et castella sua regi juniori et comiti Flandrensi.

Post festum sancti Joannis rex Francorum Ludovicus, coadunatis baronibus suis ex omni regno suo, obsedit castrum Vernolense fere per unum mensem. In quo exercitu, ut dictum est a nonnullis, fuerunt septem millia militum, excepta reliqua multitudine. Quibus restiterunt viriliter Hugo de Laci et Hugo de Bello-Campo constabuli ipsius castri, et milites eis subditi, cum burgensibus.

Junior rex Henricus et Philippus comes Flandrensis et Matthæus frater ejus comes Boloniæ, obsederunt novum castrum quod dicitur Drincgurt, cum magno exercitu; cui castro præerant Doun-Bardulfus et Thomas ejus frater. Qui cum vidissent se non posse resistere crebris assultibus eorum et suffossioni murorum, acceptis induciis, perrexerunt ad regem

[1] We read also the same abstract in the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. XIII, p. 316, B — p. 318, E.

Angliæ dominum suum, nunciantes ei quod non poterant resistere viribus inimicorum. Quare concessit eis rex ut castrum redderent comiti Flandrensi.

Matthæus comes Boloniæ, frater Philippi comitis Flandrensis, ex vulnere quod accepit in obsidione castri Dringcurt, mortuus est. Unde comes Flandrensis frater ejus dolens, accinxit militaribus armis Petrum fratrem suum, qui electus erat ad episcopatum Cameracensem.

.....

[P. 794.] Rex Henricus, contracto magno exercitu tam equitum quam peditum, venit Britolium, volens hominibus suis in Vernolio a rege Francorum Ludovico obsessis ferre auxilium. Quod cum rex Francorum audisset, usus consilio sapientum, a castro recessit, relicta multa parte impedimentorum et victualium.

Rex Henricus, convocatis baronibus Britanniæ, exegit ab eis sacramentum suæ fidelitatis. Quod cum alii ufcunque observarent, Raderus de Fulgeriis infideliter agens, vocatus a rege parere noluit; sed castellum de Fulgeriis, quod rex prius destruxerat, cœpit reædificare. Quod audiens Asculfus de Sancto-Hilario et Willielmus Patric et tres filii sui, læti effecti, per diverticula venerunt ad eum; comes etiam Cestriæ et comes Eudo secuti sunt eos.

Cum rex Anglorum Henricus misisset Brebenzones suos ad devastandam terram Raderii de Fulgeriis, et hoc ex magna parte fecissent; magna pars eorum qui victualia ad exercitum deferebant, cum non haberent ducem neque protectorem, occisa est inter Sanctum-Jacobum et Fulgerium a militibus Raderii de Fulgeriis. Raderus de Fulgeriis castrum Sancti-Jacobi tradidit incendio, similiter castrum Tilioli.

Rex Henricus latenter veniens Fulgerium, ut interciperet Raderium, audito ejus adventu, fugæ petiit remedium; prædam tamen tantam, quantam aliquis in nostro tempore vix viderat, regis homines ceperunt. Siquidem Raderus de Fulgeriis præceperat hominibus de omni terra sua quod equos et armenta et pecudes et omnem substantiam suam ducerent in suam forestam; sed antequam intrarent nemoris latibula, ab inimicis intercepta sunt, et omnia sua amiserunt.

Raderus de Fulgeriis, delinitis custodibus pretio et precibus, qui custodire debebant castrum de Cumburc et civitatem Dolensem ad opus regis Angliæ, cepit illas munitiones. Quod rex audiens misit Brebenzones suos et quosdam de militibus suis ad eorum auxilium, si necesse haberent. Quibus obviaverunt comes Cestriæ, Radulfus de Fulgeriis, Asculfus de Sancto-Hilario, Willielmus Patric, et universi milites de terra Radulfi de Fulgeriis, cum magna multitudine militum; qui quasi in momento dispersi, milites se fugæ tradiderunt; et multi de plebe occisi sunt. Comes vero Cestriæ et Raderus de Fulgeriis et quadraginta milites cum eis, cum non possent effugere, quia inimici eorum obstruxerant viam fugiendi, incluserunt se in turrim, excepto Asculfo de Sancto-Hilario et Willielmo Patric et quibusdam aliis, qui capti ducti sunt ad Pontem-Ursonis. Itaque obsessa est turris Dol a Brebenzonibus et militibus regis et plebe Abrincantina. Comes vero Eudo cum venisset de Francia, noluit morari cum Radero de Fulgeriis; sed abiit in Porroet, et firmavit Castellum-Goscelini, et cepit castellum Ploasmel.

In sequenti opere potest videri probitas, industria et agilitas regis Angliæ Henrici. Audivit nuntium de obsessione turris Doli, cum esset Rothomagi nocte præcedente diem Mercurii; ipso vero die Mercurii, cum jam lux esset, recessit a Rothomago, et venit Dolum sequenti die circa tertiam, et obsedit turrim. Et cum præparasset machinas ad turrem capiendam, inclusi sibi providentes, reddiderunt turrim et se ad volun-

tatem regis. Inde rex misit eosdem per firmitates suas, ut ibi custodirentur; quosdam vero, acceptis obsidibus, secum retinuit sub libera custodia.

Comes Robertus de Leecestria volens turbare regnum Angliæ, ipse et uxor ejus, et Hugo de Novo-Castello consobrinus ejus, cum multis militibus transfretavit in Angliam. Sed interceptus ipse et uxor ejus et Hugo de Novo-Castello, capti sunt a fidelibus regis juxta S. Edmundum, et custodiæ traditi; et multi Flandrensium ibi occisi sunt, et multi alii capti, et forsitan ideo quia rapinam exercuerant in terra sancti Edmundi regis et martyris, quod non licuit alicui impune.

Raderus de Fulgeriis dedit obsides regi Angliæ pro se filios suos, Juellum et Willielmum. Ipse vero nullatenus acquievit ut se potestati regis traderet; sed fugiendo per nemora delitescit.

Gaufridus de Poentio, et Bonus abbas de Rugeio, et alii exhæredati de Media et de Andegavensi pago, et Raderus de Haia Normanus, de nemoribus infestant terram regis, carentes munitionibus castellorum. Siquidem Brebenzones regis destruxerant castrum Quirce, sicut antea pessumdederant Fulgerium, et cæteras munitiones Raderii.

.....

[P. 795.]... Archiepiscopus Tarentasiæ [Petrus]... cum abbate Cisterciensi Alexandro missus a domino papa, venit ad regem Francorum pro reformanda pace inter regem Angliæ Henricum et filium ejus regem juniorem; sed, impedientibus hominum peccatis, parum profecit.

.....

Circa idem tempus (circa Pascha) Ludovicus rex Francorum congregavit Parisius omnes barones regni sui, qui ei parebant, et cum eis habuit secretum ministerii sui. Juraverunt ergo comes Flandriæ, comes Theobaldus, comes de Claromonte et multi alii, quod transfretarent cum juniore rege in Angliam circa festum sancti Joannis, et pro posse suo subjugarent ei idem regnum. Alii vero qui remanebant, juraverunt quod cum exercitu per Normaniam pergerent, et quæcumque castella possent caperent, et patriam vastarent, aut urbem Rothomagum obsidione cingerent: quod et fecerunt, parum proficientes. Rex autem Henricus senior, qui multos de baronibus Franciæ obæratos habebat, et magnis obsequiis et donis eos sibi familiares fecerat, hoc cognito, per eos castella sua quæ erant in finibus Normaniæ juxta Franciam, armis, militibus et victualibus munivit. Removit etiam quosdam custodes castellorum, ne aliquam sibi fraudem facerent per receptionem inimicorum suorum, et longam moram. Inde locutus cum baronibus Normaniæ, eos admonuit et obsecravit ut viriliter agerent, et rememorarentur quod parentes eorum multotiens Francos a finibus suis turpiter eliminassent. Inde assumptis paucis, immo fere nullis de baronibus Normaniæ, cum Brebenzonibus suis transivit in Angliam. Qua autem humilitate sepulchrum beati martyris Thomæ visitaverit, notandum est.

Ut autem vidit ecclesiam Cantuariensem, desiliens equo, in veste lanea et nudis pedibus, pedes usque ad illam per paludes et acuta saxa cum summa devotione perrexit. In oratione ad sepulchrum gloriosi martyris, in lachrymis tam devotus extitit, ut videntes ad lachrymas cogeret. Feria sexta illuc venerat, et impransus tota nocte ibi vigilavit. Mane autem facto, in capitulum monachorum pergens, subdidit se verberibus eorum: imitatus Redemptorem, qui dorsum suum dedit ad flagella; sed ille fecit propter peccata nostra, iste propter propria. Eadem autem die qua recessit a sancto loco, captus est Guillelmus rex Scotiæ apud Anuich a baronibus Eboracensibus; qui rex tota æstate, cum Rogerio de Moubrai et aliis complicibus suis, vastaverat septentrionales partes Angliæ, per-

tingentes ad Scotiam. Quarta feria sequenti audivit rex nuntium tanti gaudii.

Rex Henricus exhilaratus tanto nuntio, facta pace cum comite Hugone Bigoth, et positis in firma custodia Guillelmo rege Scotiæ, et Rogerio comite Leecestriæ, cum comitibus suis transfretavit in Normaniam, relinquens Angliam in pace, quam fere perditam in triginta diebus recuperaverat.....

Ex Matthæi Paris Historia majore, editore Willielmo Wats: Londini, excudebat Richardus Hodgkinson, 1640, folio.

P. 127, l. 12. Eodem anno, rex Henricus juvenis in consilio abiens impiorum, animum suum a patre divertit, et ad socerum suum regem Francorum secessit. Quo facto, Richardus dux Aquitanniæ et Gaufridus comes Britanniæ, consilio matris suæ (ut dicebatur) Alienor reginæ, fratrem potius elegerunt sequi, quam patrem. Fiunt undique conjurationes, fiunt rapinæ et incendia, et sicut creditur, in ultionem beati Thomæ martyris suscitavit Deus viscera regis Henrici contra eum, videlicet filios suos, qui ipsum usque ad mortem persequuti sunt, sicut sequens historia declarabit.....
..... Per idem tempus rex Henricus juvenis castrum Gornaci obsedit, et cepit in eo Hugonem dominum castri et filium ejus, cum viginti quatuor militibus; castrum succendit, et burgenses ad redemptionem coegit. Quo etiam tempore Robertus comes Legecestrensis, et cum eo Willielmus de Tankervilla, cum multis comitibus et baronibus, regem patrem relinquentes, ad regem filium transfugium fecerunt.

Eodem anno, rex Francorum Lodowicus, ad Normanniam penitus devastandum, innumerabilem exercitum congregavit. Qui quantocius Normanniam ingressus, castrum Albaremalense cepit, et Willielmum ejus dominum cum comite [Ebroicensi] Simone et pluribus aliis ad deditionem coegit. Demum cepit castrum Driencourt, et custodiæ deputavit. Indeque ad castrum de Archis progrediens, amisit in itinere Bononiæ comitem: unde [128] comes Flandrensis de morte comitis fratris sui animo nimis consternatus, ad propria remeavit.

Rex Henricus senior inter hæc omnia Rothomagi morabatur; æquo animo, ut populo visum est, ferens ea quæ fiebant, et solito frequentius venatui indulgens, ad se venientibus vultum hilariorem prætendit. Dilabebantur autem ab eo hi quos ab annis puerilibus educaverat, credentes dominationem filii illico imminere. Sedente quoque rege Francorum cum rege filio regis in obsidione Vernolii, rex pater nuncios direxit ad regem Francorum, mandans ut cum festinatione a Normannia recederet, alioquin ipsum eo die hostiliter visitaret. Quod audiens rex Francorum, cum sciret regem Anglorum esse potentissimum et animo amarum, fugam inire potius quam pugnare decrevit; et sic a facie regis Anglorum fugiens, intra Galliam se cum festinatione recepit.

Eodem anno, quinto nonas Julii, rege jubente, obsessa Legecestria dicitur, eo quod comes dominus urbis, rege patre relicto, ad regem filium confugit. Sed urbe tandem pro maxima parte combusta, cives de pace tractaverunt, datis regi trecentis libris, ut haberent, quo vellent, licentiam abeundi. Concessa est ergo eis tali conditione licentia, ut in urbibus

regiis vel castellis locum susciperent habitandi. Dispersi sunt nobiles civitatis; et quia regem nimis in defensione suæ civitatis offenderant, locum tuti refugii quærebant, ut minas et gravamen regis evaderent. Tunc igitur ad terram sancti Albani Anglorum protomartyris, et sancti Eadmundi regis et martyris, quasi ad sinum protectionis, confugerunt; quia tunc temporis tanta fuit eorum reverentia, ut eorum burgi omnibus transfugis asylum et tutam protectionem ab hostibus præbuerint. Illis autem abeuntibus, subversæ sunt portæ civitatis, pars murorum destructa est, militibus castello inclusis dantur induciæ usque ad festum sancti Michaelis, et sic quinto kalendas Augusti obsidio est soluta. Quo facto, rex Scotorum Willielmus, provinciam Northanhumbrorum, quæ David regi avo suo data fuerat, et longo tempore possessa, a rege repetens, repulsam invenit. Qui exercitum congregans tam Wallensium quam Scotorum, per fines episcopi Dunelmensis securum habuit transitum, donec villis quampluribus succensis, mulieribus et parvulis interfectis, prædam inpreciabilem congregavit. Ad propulsandam ergo tantam injuriam, magnates Angliæ occurrentes, regem Scotorum ad sua redire compulerunt. Qui ejus vestigia insequentes, totum Lodonesium incendio tradiderunt. Quicquid extra muros reperiunt, Anglis cessit in prædam: et sic ad instantiam regis Scotorum, datis usque ad festum sancti Hilarii induciis, magnates Angliæ cum victoria remearunt.

Audiens autem Robertus comes Legecestrensis quæ de civitate sua facta fuerant, tractus dolore cordis intrinsecus, cum uxore in Angliam reversurus, per Flandriam transitum fecit, ubi Normannorum et Flandrensium, tam equitum quam peditum, plurima sibi suffragante caterva, naves ascendit; et velis in altum expansis, applicuit in Suthfolca apud Waletunam, tertio kalendas Octobris. Qui navibus cum festinatione egressus, castrum ejusdem villæ obsedit; sed nihil omnino profecit. Indeque progrediens, tertio idus Octobris castellum de Hagenet invasit, cepit et succendit, et milites triginta intus captos ad redemptionem coegit. Regrediens inde ad Framingham, cum mora ejus onerosa Hugoni Bigod castelli domino videretur, necessitate ductus, animum direxit et gressum ad Legecestriam visitandum. Iter igitur arripiens, proposuit Burgum Sancti-Eadmundi, ex industria itinerans, sinistrare: quod exercitum regis Angliæ, qui ad patriæ illius custodiam fuerat assignatus, non latebat. Stipatus ergo comes Legecestrensis milite copioso, qui paratus ad pugnam erat in tribus millibus Flandrensium, quos viæ participes tunc habuit, non minimum confidebat. Inito itaque certamine, et ictibus ictuum assiduitate compressis, post belli varios eventus, comes et comitissa, Flandrenses, Normanni et Franci et qui cum eis venerant, omnes capiuntur, decimo sexto kalendas Novembris, et vinculis mancipantur. Comitissa vero superba nimis annulum habens in digito cum gemma pretiosissima, in amnem prope fluentem præ indignatione projecit, nolens hostes suos de sua captione tantum habere proventum. Tandem pars major Flandrensium occiditur, pars quædam submergitur, pars minima ad vincula trahitur subeunda quo carcerali custodiæ deputetur.

Rege Anglorum patre apud Rothomagum commorante, nunciatum est ei electam regis filii sui militiam apud Dolensem urbem a suis, a Brebanciis et ruptariis circumclusam. Qui continuo equos ascendens, sequenti mane ad urbem pervenit memoratam, [129] et militiam filii sui sibi repugnantem per dies paucos comprehendit. Sed priusquam veniret, hostium suorum maxima multitudo a suis ruptariis fuerat interrempta. Captus est ibidem comes Cestrensis Ranulphus, qui nuper transfugium fecit ad filium suum dominum regem juniorem, Radulphus quoque de Fulgeriis, Willielmus Patricius, Radulphus de la Haie, Hasculphus de Sancto-Hilario,

et cum istis milites viginti quatuor. Eodemque tempore magnates Angliæ cum exercitu infinito ad Hugonis Bigod superbiam reprimendam, contra ipsum profecti sunt; et cum de facili posset expugnari, sicut omnibus videbatur, interventu pecuniæ, datis et acceptis induciis usque ad Pentecosten, quatuordecim millia Flandrensium armatorum stipendiariorum stipato agminibus, per Essexiam et Cantiam securum episcopi præbuerunt conductum, et apud Doveram naves ad transfretandum paraverunt. Sed nunquam ultra illud tempus comes ad plenum respiravit....

Anno Domini M.C.LXXIV. Rogerus de Molbraio a fidelitate regis senioris recedens, in insula Axiholm castellum ab antiquo dirutum reparavit. Ad quem multitudo Lincolniensium navigio transvecta, castellum obsedit, constabularium et milites omnes ad deditionem coegit, et castellum subvertit. Eodem tempore, pridie kalendas Maii, rex Anglorum senior, cum audisset militiam Richardi filii sui urbem Xantonicam occupasse, sumptis secum Pictaviensibus, ad ejus liberationem processit. Milites illi nec Deo nec sanctæ Ecclesiæ reverentiam exibentes, majorem ingressi ecclesiam ipsamque in castellum redigentes, armis et victualibus impleverunt. Cum autem rex hostes in tribus munitionibus considere edoctus fuisset, ad eos invadendum operam impendit. Duobus igitur munitionibus illico subjugatis, ad majorem ecclesiam militibus armatis et latrocinatoribus refertam, accessit; ita ut non eam impugnaret, sed a sordibus liberaret. Capti sunt autem, tam in ecclesia quam in aliis locis, milites sexaginta, cum balistariis quadringentis. Positis igitur in securiate finibus illis, rex in Normanniam reversus est, necessitate compulsus. Philippus enim comes Flandrensis, præsente rege Francorum Lodowico et majoribus regni illius, tactis sacrosanctis reliquiis, juraverat quod infra dies quindecim post instans festum sancti Johannis in manu robusta Angliam intraret, et regis eam juvenis subjiceret potestati. Qua fiducia rex junior tractus, pridie idus Julii apud Witsant venit, Radulphum de la Haie in Angliam cum multa militia transmissurus. Comes Flandrensis trecentos et octodecim milites probatissimos ad transfretandum præmisit; sed postquam apud Arewellam in Angliam sunt appulsi, decimo octavo kalendas Julii, sociis eorum maxima ex parte periclitatis, Hugonem Bigod comitem secum illico assumpserunt. Norwicum invadentes ceperunt, et infinitam inde pecuniam sustulerunt, multos abduxerunt captivos, decimo quarto kalendas Julii, et ad redemptionem gravissimam compulerunt. Quod videntes justiciarii regis, de consilio communi miserunt ad regem Richardum Wintoniensem electum, qui pericula quæ Angliæ imminebant, fideliter intimaret. Qui celeriter in Normanniam transvectus, omnia quæ fiebant in Anglia, remota falsitate, narravit.

Rex autem talem nuncium debita cum veneratione suscipiens et se ad transfretandum præparans, reginam Alienor reginamque Margaretam, filium et filiam Johannem et Johannam secum adduxit. Comitem quoque Legecestrensem et comitissam, aliosque quamplures quos habebat in vinculis, ante faciem suam Barbefluvium præmisit, ubi navibus congregatis, cum innumera armatorum copia impiger naves conscendit; sed ventus in contrarium veniens, transitum ea die nautis reddebat suspectum. Cum autem mare rex turbulentum cognovisset, erectis in cœlum luminibus, palam cunctis audientibus ait: "Si ea quæ ad pacem sunt cleri et populi habeam in proposito, si pacem in adventu meo dare Rex cœlorum disposuerit, tunc pro sua misericordia indulgeat mihi portum salutis; si autem adversus fuerit, et regnum Angliæ in virga furoris visitare decreverit, nunquam mihi concedat fines attingere regionis!" Oratione itaque completa, ipsa die tranquilla navigatione cum rerum indemnitate ad portum Hamonis applicuit. Deinde in pane jejunans et aqua, ab

ingressu civitatum abstinuit, quousque vota orationum persolveret mente concepta beato Thomæ Cantuariensi archiepiscopo ac martyri glorioso. Cum autem Cantuariæ appropinquasset, equo desiliens et regiam majestatem prorsus deponens, nudus pedes, faciem peregrinantis, pœnitentis et supplicantis assumens, tertio idus Junii, feria sexta, ad ecclesiam majorem pervenit, et cum gemitibus et suspiriis alter Eze[130]chias lachrymarumque affluentia, petiit sepulchrum martyris gloriosi; ubi toto corpore prostratus, manibusque in cœlum expansis, diutius in oratione permansit. Interim per os episcopi Londonensis sermonem ad populum habentis, rex Deum et martyrem beatum in animam suam invocans, publice protestatus est quod mortem martyris nec mandavit, nec voluit, nec suo artificio perquisivit. Sed quoniam interfectores martyris gloriosi ex verbis ejus non satis circumspecte prolatis occasionem sumpserant archiepiscopum perimendi, ab episcopis, qui tunc præsentes erant, absolutionem petiit; carnemque suam nudam disciplinæ virgarum supponens, a singulis viris religiosis, quorum multitudo magna convenerat, ictus ternos vel quinos excepit. Vestibus igitur resumptis, muneribus pretiosis martyrem honoravit, assignans insuper annui census quadraginta libras, ad luminaria circa sepulchrum martyris continuanda, reliquumque diei ac noctis sequentis in amaritudine mentis transegit. Orationibus igitur, vigiliis et jejuniis deditus, usque in diem tertium ab alimentis abstinuit. Unde beatum martyrem sibi reddens placabilem, ipsa die sabbathi, quia sibi ab eo indulgentiam dari postulabat, tradidit Deus regem Scotiæ Willielmum in manus suas, apud Richemont castellum, custodiæ mancipatum. Ipsa etiam die sabbathi rex filius ejus, navibus, quas congregaverat ad transfretandum in Angliam, ut eam subjugaret, dissipatis penitus, et fere submersis, coactus est ad Galliam redire.

De captione regis Scotorum, ut breviter dicatur, dum Northanhumbriam intraret, sicut in anno præterito, ut eam subjugaret et suo regno hostiliter copularet, occurrerunt ei magnates regionis, et commisso campestri prælio ipsum ceperunt et vinculis arctioribus constrinxerunt. De formicis autem Scoticis tot interfectæ referuntur, quod numerum omnem excedere dicebantur. Rege autem apud Richemont castellum carcerali custodiæ deputato, videtur impleta Merlini prophetia dicentis: "Dabitur maxillis ejus frænum, quod in Armorico sinu fabricabitur." Sinum Armoricum vocans castellum de Richemont, ab Armoricis principibus et tunc ab antiquis temporibus hæreditario jure possessum. Ut autem veraciter perstringamus beneficia quæ regi Henrico Deus, post satisfactionem quam sibi exhibuit et beato martyri et in articulo temporis, præstitit per ejusdem sancti intercessionem, intelligamus ea quæ sequuntur. Rex autem Henricus, votis orationum completis, a Londoniensibus susceptus est reverenter. Inde ad Huntendonam progrediens, castellum obsedit et subjugavit, decimo quarto kalendas Augusti; ubi milites Legecestriæ ad regem accedentes, reddiderunt castella de Grobi et Muntsorell, ut cum domino suo mitius se haberet. Undecimo kalendas Augusti, proceres Norenses, ducem habentes electum Lincolniensem, regis videlicet filium, Malissart castellum Rogeri de Molbraio viribus subjugarunt. Rex Henricus turmis militaribus undique ad eum confluentibus, cum apud Sanctum-Eadmundum copiosum congregasset exercitum, duo castella Hugonis Bigod, Bungeie et Framingham, obsidere decrevit. Comes autem non habens fiduciam resistendi, datis mille marcis cum obsidibus, pacem regis obtinuit, octavo kalendas Augusti. Tunc multitudo Flandrensium, quam Philippus comes in Angliam miserat, ut præmissum est, præstito juramento quod fines Angliæ amplius hostiliter non intrarent, cum licentia regis ad propria remeavit. Militia etiam regis juvenis, cui præerat Ra-

dulphus de la Haie, absque impedimento ab Anglia recessit. Robertus comes de Ferrariis et Rogerus de Molbraio, quorum castella Trese et Stutebiri tunc obsidebantur a rege, missis ad regem legatis, pacem ejus impetrarunt. Willielmus comes Gloverniæ et Richardus comes de Clare regi occurrerunt, suo mandato in omnibus parituri. Sic rex magnificus, per intercessionem martyris gloriosi hostibus superatis et rebus Angliæ pacificatis, septimo idus Augusti in Normanniam transfretavit, ducens secum regem Scotorum, comitem Legecestrensem et Hugonem de Castello, quos in vinculis retinebat.

E libro cui titulus:

CHRONICA DE MAILROS, e codice uno in bibliotheca Cottoniana servato, nunc iterum in lucem edita. Notulis indiceque aucta. Edinburgi: typis Societatis Edinburgensis. MDCCCXXXV, 4°. Published at the expense of Sir John Hay and Alexander Pringle, for the Bannatyne Club, by Joseph Stevenson.

Pag. 85, anno 1173. Facta est contentio et fere inexorabile bellum inter ventrem et viscera, inter patrem et prolem, inter Henricum seniorem et Henricum filium ejus juniorem regem Angliæ, ita ut puer ipse miles tamen jam tunc et rex, abortis quibusdam molestiis et gravaminibus a patre illatis, clanculo noctu ad regem Francorum, patrem suum dictum in lege, se citissime transtulit; et hoc ex consilio matris sue, ut dicebant. Nos nescimus: viderit ipsa et judicet ipse. Cogitabat enim pater, ut rumor vulgi erat, filium capere et in custodiam firmam et securam ponere. Secuti sunt eum, tam de Anglia quam Normannia, viri potentes et nobiles ad bella promtissimi. Quorum fretus consilio et auxilio surgit filius, immo filii in patrem; et guerrarum tumultu et turbine non solum cismarine, sed etiam transmarine, provincie commote in arma ruunt, et dextras jungunt ad dimicandum.

[Pag. 86.] Rex etiam Scottorum Willelmus, cetera dampna novo conflictu resarcire sperans, bella immania per consilia iniqua contra cognatum et dominum suum, Henricum regem Anglie, instaurat. Et cum ingenti exercitu castra metatus est ante castrum quod Werc nominatur, et moram aliquantulum ibidem fecit; sed nichil plus profecit. Profectus autem inde rex, magnam partem Northumbrie Scotti crudeliter combusserunt, et plebem ejus ferociter gladio transverberaverunt. Inde ad Carlegium iter recurvant, et civitatem totis viribus oppugnant; sed exercitus Anglie simulato a quibusdam et significato adventu, fuge se velociter dederunt.

.....

Robertus comes Legecestrie, una cum conjuge sua, in finibus Sancti-Ædmundi captus est, et custodia arctissima positus. Sed et Flandrensium populus infinitus a finibus suis egressus ut fines Anglie occuparent, in eisdem finibus quibus et comes, cursum fixerunt et vitam finierunt. Benedictus Deus qui perdidit impios, ne perderent pios!

.....

[Anno M. C. lxxiiij.] Willelmus rex Scotie rursus exercitum Alnewic direxit, immo ipse duxit, multos fugavit, multos prostravit.

[Pag. 87.] Henricus rex Anglie senior inter hec tonitrua Angliam venit; corde compunctus, animo contritus, laneis indutus et pedibus nudis incedens, cum numerosa præsulum *(sic)* et procerum multitudine, sepulcrum beati Thome Cantuarie in ipso regni ingressu quo cicius potuit invisit, peccatorum suorum penitens, et pacem deposcens.

Mane enim facto Willelmus rex Scottorum apud Alnewic capitur, et ad Richemund cum merore deducitur, et in custodiam ad tempus ibi reverenter reservatur. Postquam autem regi Anglie res innotuit, ipsius imperio in Normanniam transponitur, et in turri de Faleisio thesaurus desiderabilis servandus reponitur. David comes, frater ejus junior, cum hec cognovisset, Legecestriam de qua pugnabat velociter reliquit, et sese cum suis, ut potuit, in Scociam transtulit.

.....

Anno M. C. LXXV. Willelmus rex Scottie cum suis de custodia rediit ad sua.

Ex Radulfi Coggeshale abbate Chronico Anglicano ab anno MLXVI. ad MCC. (*Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima Collectio.* Tomus V... Studio et opera Domni Edmundi Martene, et Domni Ursini Durand, etc. Parisiis, apud Montalant, MDCCXXIX, folio [1].)

Col. 809. MCLXXIII. Orta est magna dissentio inter Henricum regem Angliæ et Henricum filium ejus et Ludovicum regem Franciæ. [810] Nam rex Ludovicus, cujus filiam idem Henricus junior in uxorem duxerat, comesque Flandrensis Philippus et reliqui proceres regni Francorum, suggestione ac petitione ejusdem Henrici (qui juvenili ductus levitate et quorumdam malignantium adulatorio adquiescens consilio, pro patre, eo adhuc vivente, regnare volebat) contra regem Henricum unanimiter insurrexerunt, ejusque terram transmarinam rapinis et incendiis devastantes, Rothomagum etiam diutius obsederunt..... Robertus etiam comes Leicestriæ cum multitudine Flandrensium in Angliam eodem tempore applicans, a comite Hugone Bigod recepti sunt; qui postquam Gipeswic et castellum quod dicitur Haghene, cum circumadjacente regione depopulati sunt, terram S. Edmundi cum abbatia deprædari disposuerant. Quo pervenientes, justo Dei judicio et meritis sanctissimi regis interemti sunt. Comes vero cum comitissa, quæ se armis militaribus præmunierat, capti, in carcere diutius sunt retrusi. Willelmus etiam rex Scotiæ, qui simul cum Henrico juniore contra regem conspiraverat, eodem tempore Northumbriam depopulans, a Ranulfo de Granvilla et Roberto de Stuteville, qui contra eum exercitum duxerant, apud Alnewic captus est. Quem postmodum rex Henricus ad regnum suum redire permittens, tria ejus præcipua castella loco obsidum in sua manu retinuit, militesque proprios in eisdem relocavit. Episcopus similiter Dunhelmensis et Rogerus

[1] The greater part of this abstract may be read also in the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, vol. XIII, p. 219, D.

de Mombrai, comes Willelmus de Albemare, comes Cestriæ, comes Glocestriæ et alii quamplures nobilium unanimiter conspiraverant contra regem. Sed de his omnibus læta potitus victoria, castella et munitiones eorum funditus evertit, muros antiquos Leicestriæ dissipavit; reginam insuper suam, quæ cum filiis suis in eum insurgere voluit, per multos annos inclusam tenuit.

Ex libro cui titulus:

JOHANNIS DE FORDUN SCOTICHRONICON, cum Supplementis et Continuatione Walteri Boweri, Insulæ Sancti Columbæ abbatis: e codicibus MSS. editum... curâ Walteri Goodall. vol. I. Edinburgi: typis et impensis Roberti Flaminii. M. DCC. LIX, folio.

C. XXI, p. 470. Rex etiam Scotorum Willelmus, illius novi regis promissis, Northumbriam sibi cum Cumbria pollicentis, fidem adhibens, vetera damna novo conflictu resarcire sperans, bella immania contra seniorem regem instaurat, et cum ingenti exercitu castrametatus est ante castrum quod vocatur Werk. Et moram aliquantulum ibi faciens, profectus est inde Northumbriam, per montanos Scotos qui Catervani seu Caterarii vocantur, quos etiam quidam Brutos vocant vel Galwalenses, qui nec locis, sexui, personis vel ætati parcere norunt, sed ferali modo sæviendo devastans. Terra eis Humbriæ flumen crudeliter depopulata, quam maximam partem Northumbriæ Scoti hostiliter igne combusserunt, et vilem plebeculam ejus ferocius gladio transverberaverunt. Deinde ad Carlegium, sive Carleolum, iter recurvant, et civitatem totis viribus oppugnant. Contigit autem ut eo tempore Robertus comes Leicestriæ, cum sua conjuge etiam loricata, adhibitis sibi quamplurimis a rege Henrico juniore militibus et non minima multitudine militum Flandrensium, ad succursum regis Willelmi et partis sibi faventium in Angliam mitteretur. Qui comes cum suis antequam, ut condictum fuerat, ad regem Willelmum pervenire poterat, cum insperato exercitu Anglorum, partem senioris Henrici sustinentium, in occursum ejus properante, congressum faciens, quamplurimis ejus peditum occisis, ceterisque fugatis, xvij. kal. Novembris, in finibus Sancti-Edmundi capitur, et apud Porcestriam vinculis mancipatur. Quod cum rex Scotiæ ad Carleoli obsidionem fixus audiret, et non modicum exercitui suo terrorem incuteret, obsidione soluta, regnum pro tunc ad proprium reduxit suas turmas. Parum ante hoc permaximi ruboris signum visum est in cœlo, mirabili fulgore coruscans in firmamento purissimo, ab omni nubium obumbratione vacante; ita ut videntes obstupescerent, effusionem sanguinis præfigurare dicentes....

CAP. XXII.

Rex Willelmus ab Anglis capitur et in Normanniam transponitur.

Anno Domini MCLXXIV. rex Willelmus exercitum in Angliam duxit, et Appilbiam obsidens cepit, et Waimerlandiam sibi subjecit. Northumbri

quoque usque ad octavas Pentecostes pacem nummis [571] impetrant. Et sic expeditione prospere facta, sine damno rediit ad propria; ubi paululum moratus, rursus exercitu collecto et in Angliam reducto, cepit Burgum sub Mora. Sicque vastata Cumbria, cum per Northumbriam, eam depopulando et deprædando, rediens, coram Alnewick veniret, et ibidem, paucis militibus secum retentis, excubaret, omni exercitu suo in deprædationem patriæ hinc inde disperso, ecce ab hostibus Scotos se fore simulantibus, vexillis oppansis Scotorum armis, subito et inopinate supervenientibus, tertio idus Julii, decimo regni sui anno, captus est, et, fere omnibus suis ignorantibus, abductus.

Inter hæc tonitrua rex Angliæ senior Henricus Angliam venit; corde compunctus et animo contritus, laneis indutus et nudipes incedens, ejulans et lacrimans, cum numerosa præsulum et procerum multitudine, sepulchrum sancti Thomæ Cantuariæ in ipso regni ingressu quanto citius potuit invisit, peccatorum suorum pœnitens, et pacem deposcens. Mane enim facto, Willelmus rex Scotorum apud Alnewick, ut præmittitur, captus, immo, Divina disponente clementia, ab effusione Christiani sanguinis raptus. Nec fit certe, ut creditur, absque Divini nutu secreti consilii, suæ feritati clementer consulente et provide dispensante, et ut ipse a tantorum eriperetur perpetratione malorum; et dato, secundum quod præcinebat Merlinus vates, maxillis freno, paci regna restituerentur Britannica; et non ut tantum illius sedaretur inquietudo, sed et Galliarum omniumque transmarinarum partium pax reformaretur. Statimque post captionem ad Richmond cum mœrore ducitur, auxilium S. Thomæ sæpius ab eo imploratur, et in custodia ad tempus ibidem reservatur. Postquam autem regi seniori Angliæ res innotuit, ipsius imperio ad eum ducitur, et statim in Normanniam transponitur. David comes, frater ejus junior..., cum hoc cognovisset, Leicestriam quam oppugnabat velociter reliquit, et sese cum suis, ut potuit, in Scotiam transtulit. Sed et eo tempore, Scoti cum Galwalensibus, rege suo capto, Francos affines et Anglos impie et immisericorditer mutua cæde facta, crebris invasionibus occiderunt. Persecutio quoque tunc Anglorum miserrima maximaque tam in Scotia quam Galwallia facta est, ita ut nullius generis parceretur sexui, quin ubicunque apprehendi poterant, omni spreta redemptione, crudeliter interirent.

CAP. XXIII.

De concordia inter Henricum et Henricum reges Angliæ, patrem et filium.

Rothomagus interea a rege juniore Henrico Henrici filio, et rege Galliarum Ludovico, comiteque Flandriæ Philippo, obsidetur. Quod cum comperisset rex Henricus senior, jam universo regno Anglorum ad votum pacato atque sub ejus ditione denuo firmissimæ pacis fœdere roborato, ad mare properat, et manu [472] forti suis subventurus non distulit transfretare. Et quo suorum tutiori fulciretur obsequio inimicisque suis formidinis major incuteretur confusio, regem Scotiæ de turri de Falesio extrahens secum duxit, Cadamoque custodiæ deputatum inclusit.

Rege vero Scotorum, ut dictum est, in manus hostium tradito, senioris regis omnes hostes, hi etiam qui fuerant incentores præcipui discordiæ, territi et humiliati, de pace tractare cœperunt; atque, bonorum virorum instantia, pater cum filio concordatus est, tam in transmarinis quam cismarinis partibus pace redintegrata et integraliter reformata. Omnes

que captivos præter regem Scotorum interventu regis Franciæ, idem rex Henricus pater absolute relaxavit, et relaxatis honores et bona restituit...

CAPUT XXIV.

De liberatione regis Willelmi de captivitate, et bonis exemplis ad propositum facientibus.

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[P. 473.] Relaxatis, ut præmisimus, ceteris magnatibus, Richardus S. Andreæ et Richardus Dunkeldensis episcopi, plerique prælatorum, comitum et baronum regni Scotiæ, ad regem Henricum in Normannia, pro sui regis deliberatione, mare transierunt. Qui circa Purificationem beatæ Virginis post suam captionem liberatus et ad propria redire permissus, regni sui restauratur regimini, traditis sciz. castellis suis Roxburgo, Berwico et Castro Puellarum; custodibus sub ditione regis Anglorum eis deputatis, et datis ipsi Willelmo regi Scottorum Anglis obsidibus de pace conservanda, et pacis conventione inter eo sedita inconcusse duratura. Deinde xvij. kal. Septembris omnes episcopi et prælati Scotiæ ad edictum domini sui regis apud Eboracum convenientes, sub obligatione sacramenti fideique sponsione, Henrico regi adstricti sunt. Cui et omnes ejusdem regni comites et barones, rege domino suo, prout tunc opportuit, jubente, hominii jure subduntur, et fidelitatis tenore obligantur... Rex Willelmus cum suis de custodia rediit ad propria anno Domini MCLXXV.

FROM THE SCALACRONICA: by Sir Thomas Gray of Heton, knight. Mr. Stevenson's edition. Edinburgh: printed for the Maitland Club. MDCCCXXXVI, 4°.

Pag. 40. Procheinement après, com le roy Henry fust en Normendy pur la guere de Fraunce et de sez fitz, Willam roy d'Escoce entrast Engleter od grantz soudiers de Flaundres, gaigna lez chastelis de Appilby et Burgh, assist Cardoil. Lez citizeines ly disoint q'ils ly renderoint la vile à un certain jour, si ils n'ussent rescous par batail. De où le roy Willam se remua au chastel de Prodhow, q'ile conquist; se mist à Alnewyk, q'ile assist. Les barouns du counté de Everwyk, qui hount avoint qe ls (*sic*) Escocès fesoient tiel riote, sez mustrent à Noefchastell. Robert de Stotevill, Raundolf de Grauntvill, Bernard de Baillof, pur quoy Bernard-Chastel port le noun, Willam de Vescy, ou poy de gentz à regarde trenuterent sur le roy Willam, qi assurez ly teint de touz Englès pur l'absens du roy, qi sez gentz avoit envoyé à forayer le pays. Cestez gentz cheierent sur ly en l'aube [41] du jour, si estoit bruyne; qi luy pristrent, detrencherent et descoumfirent lez autres, qi à lour venu quiderent qe ceo ust est lour gentz propres. La journé finy, en l'an de grace mil. c. 78, 3 ide de Juile, lez ditz seignurs sez remistrent meisme la nuit à Noefchastel, amenerent le roy Willam à Loundres au roy Henry, qi revenuz estoit de Normendy; qi procheignment retourna et reamena od ly le roy Willam d'Escoce, ly fist metre en prisoun à Roen; et auxi le counte de Laicestre et autres,

qi le roy avoit fait prendre prisoners pur lour trespas. En quel hour sez fitz sez mistrent en sa grace, sez atournerent à ly de homage, pusque si près sanguinité ne pooit valoir. Le count de Flaundres fist faire restitucioun de ceo qe au roy fust fait de mal de sez Flemyns. Lez prelates et lez uns dez seignours d'Escoce, et nomément les evesqes de Saint-Andrew et de Dunkeldin, passerent la mere en Normendy, treiterent pur la deliveraunce du roy, acorderent od le roy Henry qi procheignement reveint en Engleterre; où à Everwik le roy Willam fust delivers pur raunsoun de xl. mille livers, où il fist homage au roy Henry; et sy rejoierent lez prelates et countes d'Escoce par lour lettres la soverayn seignoury d'Escoce au roys d'Engleterre: qoi fust confermé par lez bulles le pape Gregoire; pur quoi lez autres qy y n'estoint mysez desagreeroint, lez queux n'estoint pas penibles au deliveraunce de lour roy. Pur quoi il en prist od ly en Escoce plusours dez fitz pusnés dez seygnours d'Engleterre qi ly estoient beinvoillauntz, et lour dona lez terres dez autres qy ly estoient rebelis. Si estoint ceaux dez Baillolfs, de Bruys, de Soulis, et de Mowbray, et les Saynclers; lez Hayes, lez Giffardis, lez Ramesays, et Laundels; lez Biseys, les Berkleys, lez Walenges, lez Boysis, lez Mountgomeris, lez Vaus, lez Colewyles, lez Frysers, lez Grames, lez Gourlays, et plusours autres. Au quel venu en Escoce, le roy Willam fist founder le abbay de Abirbrothocke en le honour de saint Thomas de Cantorbirs. Cesti Willam dona en ostage plusours grauntz seignours d'Escoce, countis, barouns, et lez chasteaux de Edynburgh, de Roxburgh, et de Berewik, au roy Henry, qi puis bailla au dit roi Willam le chastel de Edinburh oue sa cousine Hermeger en espous; quel royine foundast l'abbay de Balmorinagh.

From Walter of Coventry's chronicle, Ms. Bodl. 355, fol. 49.

℄ Rex igitur Henricus prolis propagatione felicissimus extitisset, si eis filialis persecucio defuisset. Set quia ipse patrem suum et pastorem beatum martirem Thomam in carne persecutus est, justo Dei judicio contigit ut de femore ejus egressi illum hostiliter impugnarent. ℄ Persecucione enim sua Cantuariensis archiepiscopus Thomas in ecclesia Cantuariensi gladio percussus occubuit, anno ab incarnacione Domini M. C. LXXXI., rege tamen nesciente nec consentiente. ℄ Postquam autem de nece martiris per sacramentum humiliter se excusasset, et in ecclesia Cantuariensi Deo et martiri satisfaccionem devotam optulisset, tam de filiis suis quam de ceteris hostibus, Dei et martiris presidio, triumphavit.

.....

In ulcionem autem ipsius [Thomæ] sanguinis, gens surrexit adversus gentem et regnum adversus regnum; immo regnum Anglie in seipsum adeo divisum est, quod Henricus iste et fratres sui adversus patrem suum rebellantes, civitates et municiones regnumque ei auferre conarentur, ut illud Merlini vaticinium de eis adimpleretur: "Evigilabunt rugientes catuli, et postpositis nemoribus infra menia civitatum venabuntur." In Xa. autem rebellione filiorum adversus patrem que post pacis reformacionem tempore Philippi regis Francorum contigit, cernens Henricus iste se patri non posse multum nocere, ex indignacione et animi rancore in infirmitatem febris et ventris fluxum cecidit; senciensque mortem sibi iminere, misit pro rege patre suo, qui ejus timens insidias ad eum venire

noluit. ℭ Ipse ergo episcopis et viris religiosis quos vocaverat, peccata sua humiliter et devote confessus, accepta penitentia ab eisdem est absolutus; ligatoque fune in collo suo, in lectum cilicium et cinerum impositus, viatico se muniens, in timore Domini spiritum emisit. Corpusque ejus, sicud ipse preceperat, apud Rothomagum in ecclesia sancte Marie sepultum est.

Ex libro Annalium, cui titulus Memoriale fratris Gualteri de Coventre [1]. (Johannis Lelandi antiquarii de rebvs Britannicis Collectanea. Cvm Thomæ Hearnii Præfatione, Notis et Indice ad Editionem primam. Editio altera. Vol. I. Londini. Impensis Gvl. et Jo. Richardson. M. DCC. LXX, 8°, p. 287, 288.)

Autores proditionis in Hen: patrem regem.

Gul: rex Scott: et David frater ejus. Robertus junior comes Leircestr: Robertus comes de Ferrares. Comes Hugo Bigod. Hugo comes Chestre. Rogerus de Moubray, et Nigellus, et Robertus filii ejus. Haymo de Mascy. Th: de Muschamp. Robertus de Loundres. Gaufridus de Constantine (Coutances?). Richardus de Morvilla.

Haimo de Mascy tenuit castellum de Doneham et de Ullerwele. — Doneham / Ullerwele } castella.

Gaufridus de Constantine tenuit castel: de Stokeport. — Stokeport castel: Forsan Stopord super ripam Mersey in Castria.

Richardus de Moreville tenuit castel: de Lauuedra. Lelandus. Hic Moreville unus fuit procerum Gul. regis Scottorum. — Lauuedra castel:

Reginaldus comes Cornubiæ advunculus regis. — Reginaldus comes Cornubiæ, nothus Henrici primi.

Robertus comes Leyrcestre obsedit et cepit castellum de Hageneth, quod Ranulphus de Broc habuit in custodia. — Hageneth castellum.

Robertus de Vallibus custos Carleoli.

Castellum de Lidel, quod fuit Nicolai de Stoteville, a Gul: rege Scotiæ captum. — Nicol: Stoteville.

Castella regis de Burgo et de Appleby, quæ Stoteville custodiebat, capta a Scotto.

Hirebthle castellum Odoni Unfranvile a Scotto captum. Castellum ejusdem de Prudeho obsessum, at non captum.

Duces Angl: exercitus cum Gul. Scottorum rex apud Alnewic caperetur.

Robertus de Stoteville.
Gul: de Stotevile ejus filius.
Gul: de Vescy.

[1] See, concerning this author, Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britanno-Hibernica*, p. 352.

Randulphus de Glanville.
Randulphus de Tilley [1] constabular. familiæ episcopi Ebor.
Bernardus de Bailiol.
Odonellus de Unfranville.
Gaufridus Lincoln. electus filius Henr: 2i. cepit castellum de Axholm, et de Malesard Rogeri Moubray. Et firmavit quoddam castellum apud Topeclif, et tradidit custodiendum Gul: Stoteville.

E Chronico Bartolomei Norwicensis, Ms. Cotton. Nero c. v. fol. 181 recto.

Anno gratie m°. c. lxxiij. Rex H. ij. Johanni filio suo filiam Huberti de Moriana in sponsam accepit. Eodem anno Henricus juvenis in consilio abiens impiorum animum suum a patre divertit, et ad socerum suum regem Francorum secessit. Quo facto, Ricardus dux Acquitannie et Godefridus comes Britannie fratrem potius elegerunt sequi quam patrem. Fiunt undique conjurationes, rapine et incendia; et sic, ut creditur, in ulcionem beati Thome suscitavit Deus viscera regis H. ij. contra eum in filios suos, qui ipsum usque ad mortem persecuti sunt. Eodem anno rex Francorum Normanniam hostiliter invasit. Eodem anno Leicestria subversa et combusta est jussu regis H. ij. Idem rex H. ij. multos hostium suorum cepit, et carcerali custodie mancipavit.

Anno gratie m°. c° lxxiiij. Rogerus de Molbrac a fidelitate regis H. ij. recedens, castellum de Axiholm construxit. Eodem anno rex H. ij. veniens in Angliam, beatum Thomam gratia orationis petivit, orationibus, vigiliis et jejuniis; usque in diem tertium ab alimentis abstinuit: unde beatum martyrem sibi reddens placabilem, dari sibi postulabat. Eodem anno tradidit Deus regem Scocie Willelmum in manus dicti regis H. ij. Ipso die rex H. juvenis filius suus, navibus quas congregaverat ad transfretandum in Angliam, ut eam sibi subjugaret, dissipatis penitus et fere submersis, coactus est ad Galliam redire. Ut autem veraciter perstringamus beneficia que regi H. ij. Deus post satisfactionem quam sibi exhibuit et beato martyri, per ejusdem facti intercessionem in articulo temporis prestitit, omnes inimicos suos pro voto superavit; et, regibus omnibus Anglie superatis et pacificatis, in Normanniam transfretavit, ducens secum regem Scottorum et comitem Leicestrensem [et] Hugonem de Castello, quos in vinculis retinebat. Eodem anno archiepiscopus Cantuarensis Ricardus a Roma rediens, pallium et primatum Anglie reportavit. Eodem anno ab obsidione Rotomagi rex H. ij. regem Francorum et filium ejus Henricum juniorem fugavit. Eodem anno Willelmus de Turbes episcopus Norwicensis obiit.

Anno gratie m°. c. lxxv. Omnes filii regis Anglorum H. ij. ad pacem patris sunt reversi.

[1] With two dots under *ey*.

From Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle. Transcrib'd, and now first publish'd, from a MS. in the Harleyan Library by Thomas Hearne, M. A. Oxford, printed at the Theater, M. DCC. XXIV, 8°, vol. II, p. 477, v. 11.

After Sein Tomas dethe aboute an zeres to,
Ther spronk contek suithe strong, thei it luther were ido,
Bituene king Henri the olde and the zonge mid wou.
Vor ihe sone aros aze the fader, and dude him same ynou,
Thoru the king of France, was dozter was is wif.
Vor thoru a vowe of him the sone bigan that strif.
Vor the king of Fraunce, and the erl of Flaundres ther to,
And Sir Roberd erl of Leicestre, and Sire Hue Bigod also,
And the king of Scotlond ek, and manie other knizt,
With the sone aze fader hulde with vnrizt.
Hii destruede and robbede the fader londes mid wou.
The fader was in Normandie, and deol made ynou.
He huld it al wreche of God, vor Sein Tomas martirdom
The erl Willam of Gloucestere huld mid him vaste,
And mani other trewe knizt, so that atte laste,
(Ac the olde king at Canterbury, mid gode herte and wille,
Hurde is masse of Sein Tomas, and cride him merci stille.
Is ost and is sone ost, the wule masse ilaste,
Smite an stronge bataile, so that atte last,)
Thoru grace of Seint Tomas, is men ouercome
Hor fou, and the king of Scotlonde nome.
And Sir Hue Bigode ek, and the erl of Leicetre,
Inome was thoru Willam, erl of Gloucestre.
Mani on ther was aslawe, so that this uair cas
The king is thonkede eueridel the gode man Sein Tomas.
So that the fader and the sone acorded were tho.
Ac the sone 's herte aze the fader was euer mo.

From Þe Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland be Androw of Wyntown, priowr of Sanct Serfis Ynche in Loch Levyn. Now first published, with Notes, a Glossary, etc. By David Macpherson. London: printed by T. Bensley, etc. M. DCC. XCV, two vol. 8°, vol. I, p. 323, chap. viii, l. 71.

And be þe Coronatyown
Of Henry yhowng dissentyown
In-to þe Kynryk of Inglande
Gret and fell wes apperand
Be-twene þe Fadyr and þe Swne:
Þe táne þe toþire wald have wndwne.

On ilka syde gret partyis
Heyly begowth to rys:
On báth þe sydys þe Brettis Se
Dowtis apperid gret to be,
And all þe Kynryk in peryle
Of Ingland was in-to þat quhyle,
Qhwyle þat God set þat remede,
Befor þe Fadyr þe Swne wes dede;
And þe Fadyr wes left lewand,
Eftyr þe Swne dede, Kyng regnand.
A thowsand á hundyr sevynty and foure
Frá Cryst wes borne oure Sawyoure,
Đe Kyng Willame of Scotland
Past wyth a gret Ost in Ingland:
All Waymerland and Appilby
Đan wan he til hym hályly;
[P. 324.] And as he wes þan háme ridand,
De Lordis all of Northwmbyrland
Askyd Trewys at þe Kyng
Willame, and he to þare askyng
For of þairis gave assent:
And þai þar-of mád payment.
Til þe Fest of þe Ternytè
He grawntyd þame trewyd for to be.
De tyme of þái Trewys past,
Đe King Willame als fast
Hys Ost assemblyd wyth stalwart hand:
Agayne he past þan in Ingland.
In Alnewyk wnwysly
Đe Kyng hym-self rycht symply
Báde: and in-til forray
All þe men þat tyme of Galway,
And mony oþir of hys men
Ware well persaywyd, frá hym þen
Đat þai war in forray past;
Đe Northwmbrys alsá fast
Gaddryd, and tuk hym in þat stownd,
And had hym fyrst til Rychemwnd;
And þare wes set in þat Castelle,
Quhare þai gert kepe hym wondyr welle.
And sone send word in Normandy,
For þare wes þat tyme þe Kyng Henry,
[P. 325.] The quhilk wes rycht blyth of þat cás
Frá he herd as it hapnyd was;

And gert hym be browcht in hy
Owr til hym in Normandy:
As in Presowne þare he wes
In þe Towre kepyd of Falès.
Đe kyng Willamys Brodyr þan Đaẅy,
Erle of þe Garwyawch, hályly
Wyth hys Ost assegeand lay
Laycester þat ilk day:
Quhen þare come til hym tythyng,
Đat táne of Scotland wes þe Kyng,
Đan he remoẅyd alsa fast
And háme þan in-til Scotland past.

Dugdale, in his Baronage of England, vol. I, p. 40, col. 2, quotes, concerning the capture of Hugh Keveliok, of the earl of Leicester, and of William the Lion, at Alnwick, "Chron. Evesham. MS. in Bibl. Bodl. (k. 84) fol. 27 a." I was unable to obtain access to this manuscript.

Ex libro cui titulus:

REGINALDI MONACHI DUNELMENSIS LIBELLUS DE ADMIRANDIS BEATI CUTHBERTI VIRTUTIBUS quæ novellis patratæ sunt temporibus. London: J. B. Nichols and Son. Publication of the Surtees Society. MDCCCXXXV, 8°.

Pag. 272, cap. CXXVII. Facta dissensione inter primates terræ et regem Angliæ, Willelmus rex Scotiæ, collecto exercitu cœpit fines circumpositas Northumbriæ lata depopulationis strage vastare. Ipse enim favebat partibus regi Henrico adversantium, conatus in regni solio regi patri regem nuper creatum præferre filium. Quod videntes australes Angliæ principes, cum multa manu militari constipati cœpere prævenire, et tueri regnum et populi irruptiones. Unde Dunelmum usque exercitu Anglorum veniente, multi eorum cum oblatione devota studuere beati Cuthberti se patrocinio commendare. Et ipsius ecclesiam subituri, discincto gladio et descendentes equo, proni et supplices humilitatis ornatu sunt induti, etc.

Pag. 273, cap. CXXVIII. Eo tempore inimicantibus sibi ad invicem quibusdam principibus magnatorum Angliæ, pro captando sibi alterutrim favore patris vel filii Henrici regum terræ, cœpere nonnulli aliorum prædia diripere, oppida invadere, terras vel possessiones violenter sibi velle subicere. Exeuntes igitur de Leicestriæ castello, in vicino alterius castelli Duningtune vocati milites deprædantes patriam (i. e. Dunelmensem agrum)

pervenere: quod ægre ferentes interius positi, cum impetu improvido, quia semis armati, armatis cœpere occurere, etc.

Pag. 275, cap. CXXIX. Eo siquidem tempore quo Willielmus rex Scottorum terram omnem depopulaturus comprovintialium circa Carleolum, minis, incendiis gladiisque ascenderat, populus, Scottorum furorem devitans, cum suppellectili, pecunia et substantia sua, ad pacem ecclesiarum confugiebat. Et quia domos vacuas hostibus solummodo dereliquerant, in cymiteriis circa ecclesias, domunculas quasdam seu papiliones vili quidem tegmine fœni seu straminis contectas, in quibus degerent et sua obumbrarent, sibi quique construxerant. Populus igitur, qui de beati Cuthberti parrochia [1] exstitit, ad ejus confugiens patrocinia, castra consimilia sibi, metu cum necessitate compellente, construxit. Infra ecclesiam vero, quæque cariora sibi, in archis seu cistellis suis firmius obseratis locaverant: et quicquid in auro vel argento cum preciosis vestibus habuerant, in his secretius reposuerant, etc.

Ex libro cui titulus:

Fœdera, Conventiones, Literæ, et cujuscunque Generis Acta publica, inter Reges Angliæ, et alios quosvis Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes, vel Communitates... accurantibus Thoma Rymer, et Roberto Sanderson... Tomi I. pars I et II. Hagæ Comitis, apud Joannem Neaulme. MDCCXLV. folio, p. 12. Ann. D. 1173. A. 19. H. 2.

Henricus 2. *Angliæ rex queritur apud papam de rebellione Henrici reliquorumque filiorum contra se, et auxilium papæ implorat.*

Sanctissimo domino suo Alexandro, Dei gratia catholicæ ecclesiæ summo pontifici, H. rex Angliæ salutem et devotæ subjectionis obsequium.

In magnorum discriminum angustiis, ubi domestica consilia remedium non inveniunt, eorum suffragia implorantur quorum prudentiam in altioribus negotiis experientia diuturna approbavit. Longe lateque divulgata est filiorum meorum malitia, quos ita in exitium patris spiritus iniquitatis armavit, ut gloriam reputent et triumphum patrem persequi; et filiales affectus in omnibus diffiteri, præveniente meorum exigentia delictorum. Ubi pleniorem voluptatem contulerat mihi Dominus, ibi me gravius flagellat; et quod sine lacrymis non dico, contra sanguinem meum et viscera mea cogor odium mortale concipere, et extraneos mihi quærere successores. Illud præterea sub silentio præterire non possum, quod amici mei recesserunt a me, et domestici mei quærunt animam meam. Sic enim familiarium meorum animos intoxicavit clandestina conjuratio, ut observantiæ proditoriæ conspirationis universa posthabeant. Malunt namque meis adhærere filiis contra me transfugæ mendici,

[1] Plumbelund, vico quodam in Cumberlandensi agro, proximo Cockermouth.

quam regnare mecum et in amplissimis dignitatibus præfulgere. Quoniam ergo vos extulit Deus in eminentiam officii pastoralis ad dandam scientiam salutis plebi ejus, licet absens corpore, præsens tamen animo me vestris advolvo genibus consilium salutare deposcens. Vestræ jurisdictionis est regnum Angliæ, et quantum ad feudatarii juris obligationem, vobis duntaxat obnoxius teneor et astringor. Experiatur Anglia quod possit Romanus pontifex; et quia materialibus armis non utitur, patrimonium B. Petri spirituali gladio tueatur. Contumeliam filiorum poteram armis rebellibus propulsare; sed patrem non possum exuere: nam et Jeremia testante, " nudaverunt lamiæ mammas suas, lactaverunt catulos suos." Et licet errata eorum quasi mentis esseratæ me fecerint, retineo paternos affectus, et quandam violentiam diligendi eos mihi conditio naturalis importat. Utinam saperent et intelligerent, ac novissima provideren t! Lactant filios meos domestici hostes, et occasione malignandi habita non desistunt, quousque redigatur virtus eorum in pulverem, et converso capite in caudam servi eorum dominentur eis, juxta verbum illud Solomonis: " Servus astutus filio dominabitur imprudenti." Excitet ergo prudentiam vestram spiritus consilii, et convertatis corda filiorum ad patrem. Cor enim patris pro beneplacito vestro convertetur ad filios, et in fide illius per quem reges regnant, vestræ magnitudini promitto me dispositioni vestræ in omnibus pariturum. Vos ecclesiæ suæ, pater sancte, diu Christus servet incolumem!

E COLLECTIONE THOMÆ RYMER, supra laudata, tomi I. pars I et II. p. 12, col. 2. Ann. D. 1174. A. 20. H. 2. Ex orig. in Biblioth. Cotton. [1]

Hæc est concordia quæ facta est inter regem et filios suos.

1. Notum sit omnibus tam præsentibus quam futuris quod pax inter dominum H. regem Angliæ et filios ejus, Henricum videlicet regem et Ricardum et Gaufridum, in hunc modum, Deo volente, reformata est.

2. Henricus rex et fratres sui prædicti ad patrem suum et servitium ejus, sicut ad dominum suum, redierunt liberi et absoluti ab omni juramento et inprisa, quam inter se vel cum aliis fecerant contra eum et homines suos.

3. Et omnes barones et homines qui a fidelitate patris causa eorum recesserant, clamaverunt quietos ab omni juramento quod eis fecerant; et ita liberi et quieti ab omni juramento et absoluti ab omni conventione quam eis fecerant, in hominium et ligeantiam domini regis redierint.

4. Et dominus rex debet rehabere, ipse et barones et homines sui, omnes terras suas et castella sua, quæ habuerunt 15 dies antequam filii sui recederent ab eo; similiter barones et homines qui recesserunt ab eo et secuti sunt filios suos, debent rehabere terras suas, quas habuerunt 15

[1] The same entry is also to be read in Benedictus Petroburgensis (Hearne's edition, p. 83; *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. XIII, p. 161, note *b*), and in Hoveden's chronicle (Savile's collection, p. 541, l. 9).

diebus antequam ipsi ab eo recederent; et dominus rex remisit omnem malevolentiam baronibus et hominibus suis qui recesserant ab eo, ita quod, propter hoc, nullum malum eis faciet, quamdiu ei fideliter servient sicut ligio domino suo.

5. Et rex filius ejus similiter perdonavit omnibus, tam clericis quam laicis, qui cum patre fuerunt, omnem malevolentiam suam; et adsecuravit in manu domini regis patris sui, quod illis qui servierint ei, nec malum nec dampnum aliquod, hac de causa, faciet vel perquiret tota vita sua.

6. Et dominus rex, per hanc conventionem, donat regi filio suo duo castella idonea in Normannia, ad voluntatem ipsius patris; et singulis annis 15 millia librarum Andegavensium; et Ricardo filio suo in Pictavia duo receptacula idonea, unde domino regi non possit damnum provenire, et medietatem redditùum Pictaviæ in denariis. Gaufrido vero filio suo dat in Britannia, in denariis, medietatem redditùum maritagii filiæ comitis Conani, quam ducere debet in uxorem; et postquam concessione Ecclesiæ eam in uxorem duxerit, habebit omnes redditus illius maritagii, sicut continetur in carta comitis Conani.

7. Prisones vero qui cum domino rege finem fecerunt ante pacem factam cum domino rege, videlicet rex Scotiæ et comes Leiacestriæ et comes Cestriæ et Radulphus de Fulgeriis et obsides eorum, et obsides aliorum prisonum quos prius habuerat, sint extra conventionem istam. Alii autem prisones ex utraque parte deliberari debent; ita scilicet quod dominus rex obsides accipiet de prisonibus suis, de quibus habuere voluerit et qui dare poterunt. Et de aliis habebit securitatem per fidem et juramentum suum et amicorum suorum.

8. Castella vero quæ firmata sunt vel inforciata postquam guerra incepit in terra domini regis, pro voluntate sua debent redigi ad illum statum in quo fuerunt 15 diebus ante gwerram.

9. Præterea sciendum est quod rex H. filius regis concessit domino regi patri suo se firmiter observaturum omnes donationes elemosinarum quas dederat vel daturus erat de terris suis, et donationes terrarum quas dederat hominibus suis vel daturus erat pro servitio suo.

10. Concessit etiam se firmiter et inconcusse observaturum donationem quam dominus rex pater suus fecit Johanni fratri suo, videlicet mille libratas redditùum in Anglia de dominico suo et de escaetis suis, ad voluntatem suam; et castellum de Notingham, cum comitatu et pertinentiis suis; et castellum de Merliberga, cum pertinentiis suis; et in Normannia mille libras Andegavensium et duo castella, ad voluntatem patris; et in Andegavia et in terra quæ fuit comitis Andegaviæ, mille libras redditùum Andegavensium; et castellum unum in Andegavia, et unum in Cenomania, et unum in Turonia.

11. Concessum est autem a domino rege, pro amore filii sui, quod omnes illi qui recesserant ab eo post filium suum, et incessu suo forisfecerant in terra domini regis, ad pacem ejus revertantur; ita quod de catallis quæ asportaverunt in recessu suo, non respondeant. De morte vero, vel proditione, vel perditione alicujus membri, respondeant secundum judicium et consuetudinem terræ. Qui autem ante gwerram quacunque de causa aufugerunt, et ad servitium filii sui venerunt, pro amore filii sui ad pacem revertantur, si vagium et plegium dederint standi judicio de hiis quæ ante gwerram forisfecerunt.

12. Illi autem qui in placito erant quando recesserunt ad filium suum, revertantur; ita quod in eo statu placiti sui sint in quo erant quando recesserunt.

13. Hanc conventionem firmiter tenendam ex parte sua assecuravit

H. rex filius regis in manu domini regis patris sui. Præterea assecuraverunt H. filius regis et fratres sui quod a domino rege patre suo nunquam amplius exigerent, ultra donationem præscriptam et determinatam, contra voluntatem et beneplacitum domini regis patris sui, et quod neque se neque servitia sua patri suo subtraherent.

14. Ricardus vero et Gaufridus, filii domini regis, devenerint homines ejus de his quæ eis concessit et dedit.

Cum autem filius ejus Henricus homagium ei facere voluisset, noluit dominus rex recipere, quia rex erat; set securitatem accepit ab eo.

Testibus,

R. Rothomag. archiepiscopo.
Henrico Bajoc. episcopo.
Rogero Sag. episcopo.
R. Nannet. episcopo.
G. electo Lincoln.
Jo. decano Sarum.
Ric. de Humez, constabulario.
Ric. de Bellomonte, vic.
Regin. de Curten.
Mor. de Creona.
Willielmo Malo-Vicino.
W. de Hum.
Gaufrido Pertic.
Willielmo de Curci.
Fulch. Saenell.
Jo. de Solineio.
Saher de Quinci.
Ricardo de Canvill.
W. filio Andell., senescallo.
Alvr. de Sancto-Martino, dapifero.
Gosberto de Sisseneio.
Rob. filio Ernisii.
Eudde filio Ern.
Waltero de Ypra.
Willielmo marescallo.
Roberto de Blé.
Eimerio filio Eudon.

Apud Falesiam.

Sub sigillo pendente, cui imprimitur imago regis in solio sedentis, et sinistra manu gerentis sceptrum.

Ex ejusdem Thomæ Rymer collectione, p. 13, col. 1. Ann. D. 1174. A. 20. H. 2. Ex magno rotulo penes Camer. [1]

Hæc est conventio et finis quem Will. rex Scotorum fecit cum domino suo Henrico rege, filio Matildis.

Willielmus rex Scotorum devenit homo ligius domini regis contra omnem hominem, de Scotia et de omnibus aliis terris suis; et fidelitatem ei fecit ut ligio domino suo, sicut alii homines sui ipsi facere solent. Et similiter fecit homagium Henrico regi filio suo, salva fide domini regis patris sui.

Omnes vero episcopi et abbates et clerus terræ regis Scotiæ et successores sui facient domino regi, sicut ligio domino, fidelitatem de quibus habere voluerit, sicut alii episcopi sui ipsi facere solent, et Henrico regi filio suo et hæredibus suis.

Concessit autem rex Scotiæ et David frater suus et barones et alii

[1] This charter is also to be found in Hoveden's chronicle, Savile's collection, p. 545, l. 24.

homines sui domino regi, quod ecclesia Scoticana talem subjectionem amodo faciet ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, qualem illi facere debet et solebat tempore regum Angliæ prædecessorum suorum. Similiter Richardus episcopus Sancti-Andreæ, et Ricardus episcopus de Dunkeldyn, et Galfridus abbas de Dunfermelyn, et Herbertus prior de Coldingham concesserunt quod etiam ecclesia Anglicana illud jus habeat in ecclesia Scotiæ, quod de jure habere debet, et quod ipsi non erunt contra jus ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.

Et de hac concessione, sicut ligiam fidelitatem domino regi et Henrico filio suo fecerunt, eos inde assecuraverunt, ita hoc idem facient alii episcopi et clerus Scotiæ per conventionem inter dominum regem et regem Scotiæ et David fratrem suum et barones suos factam.

Comites etiam et barones et alii homines de terra regis Scotiæ, de quibus dominus rex habere voluerit, facient ei homagium contra omnem hominem et fidelitatem ut ligio domino, sicut alii homines sui facere solent, et Henrico regi filio suo et hæredibus suis, salva fide domini regis patris sui. Similiter hæredes regis Scotiæ et baronum et hominum suorum homagium et ligantiam facient hæredibus domini regis contra omnem hominem.

Præterea rex Scotiæ et homines sui nullum amodo fugitivum de terra domini regis pro felonia receptabunt in Scotia, vel in alia terra sua (nisi voluerit venire ad rectum in curia domini regis, et stare judicio curiæ); set rex Scotiæ et homines sui quam citius poterunt eum capient, et domino regi reddent, vel justiciariis aut ballivis suis in Anglia.

Si autem de terra regis Scotiæ aliquis fugitivus fuerit pro felonia in Anglia (nisi voluerit venire ad rectum in curia regis Scotiæ, vel in curia domini regis, et stare judicio curiæ), non receptabitur in terra domini regis; set liberabitur hominibus regis Scotiæ per ballivos domini regis, ubi inventus fuerit.

Præterea homines domini regis habebunt terras suas, quas habebant et habere debent de domino rege et de rege Scotiæ et de hominibus suis; et homines regis Scotiæ habebunt terras suas, quas habebant et habere debent de domino rege et de hominibus suis.

Pro ista vero conventione et fine firmiter observando domino regi et Henrico filio suo et hæredibus suis a rege Scotiæ et hæredibus suis, liberavit rex Scotiæ domino regi castellum de Rockesburg, et castellum de Berwick, et castellum de Gedeworthe, et castellum Puellarum, et castellum de Stryvelyn in misericordia domini regis. Et ad custodienda castella illa assignabit rex Scotiæ, de redditu suo, mensurabiliter ad voluntatem domini regis.

Præterea pro prædicta conventione et fine exequendo liberavit rex Scotiæ domino regi David fratrem suum in obsidem, et

Comitem Duncanum, et
Comitem Waldevum, et
Comitem Gilbertum, et
Comitem de Aneguz, et
Richardum de Moreville, constabularium, et
Niz filium Willielmi, et
Ricardum Comyn, et
Walterum Corbet, et
Walterum Olyfard, et
Johannem de Valz, et
Willielmum de Lyndeseye, et
Philippum de Coleville, et
Philippum de Valoignes, et
Robertum Frembert, et
Robertum de Burneville, et
Hugonem Gyffard, et
Hugonem Rydal, et
Walterum de Berkelé, et
Willielmum de la Haye, et
Willielmum de Mortemer.

Quando vero castella reddita fuerint, Willielmus rex Scotiæ et David frater suus liberabuntur. Comites quidem et barones prænominati, unusquisque postquam liberavit obsidem suum, scilicet filium legitimum quem

habuit, et alii nepotes suos vel propinquiores sibi hæredes, et castellis, ut dictum est, redditis, liberabuntur.

Præterea rex Scotiæ et barones sui prænominati assecuraverunt quod ipsi bona fide et sine malo ingenio et sine occasione facient quod episcopi et barones et homines terræ suæ qui non affuerunt quando rex Scotiæ cum domino rege finivit, eandem ligantiam et fidelitatem domino regi et Henrico filio suo facient quam ipsi fecerunt, et quod barones et homines qui affuerunt, obsides liberabunt domino regi de quibus habere voluerit.

Præterea episcopi, comites et barones conventionaverunt domino regi et Henrico filio suo quod, si rex Scotiæ aliquo casu a fidelitate domini regis et filii sui et a conventione prædicta recederet, ipsi cum domino rege tenebunt, sicut cum ligio domino suo, contra regem Scotiæ, nec ipse ad fidelitatem domini regis redeat.

Prædictam itaque conventionem firmiter observandam bona fide et sine malo ingenio domino regi et Henrico filio suo et hæredibus suis a Willielmo rege Scotiæ et David fratre suo et a baronibus suis prædictis et ab hæredibus eorum assecuravit ipse rex Scotiæ, David frater ejus et omnes barones sui prænominati, desicut ligii homines domini regis, contra omnem hominem, et Henrici filii sui, salva fidelitate domini regis patris sui.

Hiis Testibus:

Ricardo episcopo Abricen.
Johanne Saresberien. decano.
Roberto abbate Malmesbur.
Radulpho abbate de Mondesburg.
Herberto archidiacono Northampton.
Waltero de Constanciis.
Rogero capellano regis.
Osberto clerico de camera.
Ricardo filio domini regis, comite Pictaviæ.
Galfrido filio domini regis, comite Brytanniæ.
Comite Willielmo de Essex.
Hugone comite Cestriæ.
Ricardo Humez constabulario.
Comite de Millenc.
Jordano Cosson.
Humfrido de Bohun.
Willielmo de Curcy, seneschallo.
Gilberto Mallet senescallo.

Apud Falesiam.

E Registro cui nomen Pipe Roll, 19 Hen. II. in Carleilschire, quoted in p. 249 of the *Scalacronica*, Stevenson's edition.

MINARIA CARLEOLI.

Et Roberto de Vals, xx. libras ad tenendum milites in castello de Carleolii; per breve Ricardi de Luci.

Et Odinello de Unfranvilla, xx. libras ad tenendum milites in castello de Prudho, pro dampno sibi a Scottis illato.

Et Rogero filio Ricardi, xx. libras ad tenendum milites in Novo-Castello super Tinam; per breve Ricardi de Luci.

Ex libro cui titulus:

MAGNUS ROTULUS PIPÆ, or the great Roll of the Exchequer, for Northumberland, from 1130 to 1272... By the Rev. John Hodgson, M.R.S.L. Newcastle: for the Author. 1835, 4°. [1]

Appendix, col. 301. Anno 1173—19 Hen. ii. NORHVMBERLAND'. Rogerus de Stutevilla reddit compotum de firma de Norhumberlanda. In thesauro vij. solidos et ix. denarios.

... Et in terris datis Rogero filio Ricardi, xx. libras in burgo Novi-Castelli. Et eidem xxxij. libras et ij. solidos in Werch'. Et regi Scottie x. libras in Tindal.

Et in guarnisunia Novi-Castelli super Tynam c. solidos, per breve Ricardi de Luci. Et in operatione turris Novi-Castelli c.lxvij. libras et xiiij. solidos et v. denarios, per breve regis et per visum Widonis Tisun et Roberti de Fuelistonia et Jocelini Ruffi et Roberti filii Eve. Et quietus est.

DE PROPRESTURIS... In operatione predicte turris xviij. libras, per breve regis et per visum predictorum. Et debet (Rogerus de Stutevilla) xij. solidos.

Idem vicecomes reddit compotum de lx. libris de cornagio. In operatione predicte turris liiij. libras et x. solidos et xj. denarios, per breve regis et per visum predictorum. Et debet c. et ix. solidos et j. denarium.

.....

Guido Tysun reddit compotum de catallis fugitivorum de Norhumberlanda. Scilicet de xix. solidis et iiij. denariis de catallis Meldredi filii Sacerdotis. Et de xiij. solidis et xj. denariis de catallis Willelmi Clerici et Willelmi Plumbarii. Et de vij. solidis et ij. denariis de catallis Ulfketil filii Æilafii. Et de xiij. solidis et ix. denariis de catallis Normanni et Utangi filii ejus. Scilicet liiij. solidos. In thesauro liberavit in iiij. tallagiis, et quietus est.

[Col. 21 and 22. Anno 1174—20 Hen. II.] NORHUMBRELAND. Rogerus de Stutevill reddit compotum de firma de Norhumberland. In thesauro nichil.

... Et in terris datis Rogero filio Ricardi, xx. libras in burgo Novi-Castelli. Et eidem xxxij. libras et ij. solidos in Werch'. Et in Tindale quam rex Scottorum habuit, x. libras. — Et in warnis castelli de Werch'., pro xlviij. cheldris farine de avena, xix. libras et iiij. solidos, per breve regis. Et pro liij. cheldris brasii, x. libras et xij. solidos, per idem breve. Et in custamento x. militum et xl. servientium residentium in castro de Werch, xlj. libras, per breve regis. — Et debet (Rogerus de Stutevill) c. libras et xlvj. solidos et ij. denarios, qui remanserunt propter werram, ut dicit.

DE PROPRESTURIS... In operatione turris Novi-Castri super Tina vij. libras et xv. solidos, per breve regis et per visum Widonis Tisun et Roberti de Develeston et Goscelini Ruffi et Roberti filii Eve. Et debet (idem vice-

[1] This volume, for a copy of which I am indebted to my learned and respected friend, Thomas Thomson Esq., deputy clerk registrar of Scotland, is the same, with the exception of the title-page and dedication, as part III, vol. III, of Hodgson's History of Northumberland, of which that gentleman printed a few copies in this separate form.

comes) x. libras et xvij. solidos, qui remanserunt propter werram, ut dicit...—Idem vicecomes reddit compotum de c. et ix. solidis et j. denario de cornagio anni preteriti. In operatione predicte turris c. solidos et x. denarios, per breve regis et per visum predictorum. Et debet viij. solidos et iij. denarios.

.....

De Scutagiis Hybernie... In custamento militum regis de Werch c. solidos, per breve regis. Et (idem vicecomes) quietus est. Idem vicecomes reddit compotum de xlvj. solidis et viij. denariis de exitu terre Ædgari Unniding, qui abiit in Scottiam ad inimicos regis. In thesauro liberavit, et quietus est.....

THE END OF THE APPENDIX.

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France, p. 2, l. 27; p. 4, l. 31, 37, 44, 64, 69, 70; p. 6, l. 85; p. 16, l. 345; p. 20, l. 435; p. 22, l. 437, 441, 455; p. 34, l. 734; p. 36, l. 794; p. 46, l. 988, 1007; p. 58, l. 1261; p. 94, l. 2070, 2071.
Franceis (Frenchmen), p. 6, l. 104; p. 12, l. 241; p. 36, l. 790; p. 46, l. 998; p. 78, l. 1698, 1702, 1729.
Frise (Friseland), p. 36, l. 790.

G

Galvens (Galloway-men), p. 111, var. read. to l. 1695.
Gascuns, p. 4, l. 68.
Gavelens (Galloway-men), p. 76, l. 1695.
Gervaise Suplest, p. 88, l. 1941.
Gilebert de Munfichet, p. 74, l. 1615.
Glamvile, Glanvile, p. 72, l. 1568; p. 78, l. 1718; p. 80, l. 1744, 1766, 1777; p. 82, l. 1811, 1823; p. 86, l. 1915; p. 90, l. 1969, 1982; p. 94, l. 2058, 2060, 2066; p. 112, var. read. to l. 1718, 1744, 1766, 1777;

p. 113, var. read. to l. 1915; p. 114, var. read. to l. 1982; p. 115, var. read. to l. 2058, 2060.

GLOECESTRE (Gloucester), p. 106, var. read. to l. 986.

GLOWCESTRE (Gloucester), p. 46, l. 986.

GUALEIS (Welshmen), p. 32, l. 686.

GUILLAME (William the Lion), p. 32, l. 670; p. 80, l. 1780.

H

HAMTUNE, HANTUNE (Southampton, in Hampshire), p. 94, l. 2063; p. 115, var. read. to l. 2063.

HELYE (the prophet Elias), p. 22, l. 475.

HENRI (the father to William the Lion), p. 28, l. 596.

HENRI (king Henry, the son of Henry II), p. 12, l. 253; p. 14, l. 257.

HENRI LE BLUNT, p. 88, l. 1934.

HENRIS, HENRIZ (Henry II, king of England), p. 4, l. 32, 43, 50, 62, 66; p. 6, l. 93, 99, 103; p. 8, l. 122, 158, 163; p. 10, l. 199; p. 12, l. 212, 213; p. 16, l. 321; p. 24, l. 497; p. 32, l. 671, 676; p. 38, l. 816; p. 42, l. 899; p. 44, l. 949; p. 46, l. 1000; p. 50, l. 1095; p. 52, l. 1112; p. 56, l. 1229; p. 58, l. 1263; p. 64, l. 1423; p. 66, l. 1432, 1443; p. 68, l. 1472; p. 70, l. 1522, 1534; p. 86, l. 1917; p. 90, l. 2003; p. 92, l. 2017, 2029, 2046; p. 94, l. 2056. See ENGLETERRE and MAHALT.

HEUE DE CESTRE (Hugh, surnamed Keveliok, earl of Chester), p. 98, var. read. to l. 143; p. 99, var. read. to l. 196.

HOLEBEC, p. 113, var. read. to l. 1897.

HORIN, p. 110, var. read. to l. 1467.

HORM, p. 66, l. 1467.

HUBERT DE VAUS, p. 64, l. 1402.

HUE DE CESTRE (Hugh, earl of Chester), p. 99, var. read. to l. 227.

HUGE BIGOT (Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk), p. 40, l. 845; p. 44, l. 952.

HUGE DE CESTRE (Hugh, earl of Chester), p. 8, l. 143; p. 10, l. 196; p. 12, l. 227. See CESTRE.

HUGE DE CREISSI, p. 48, l. 1054; p. 50, l. 1085.

HUGE DEL CHASTEL, p. 46, l. 992, 996; p. 48, l. 1024; p. 50, l. 1068, 1083.

HUMAZ, p. 8, l. 165; p. 10, l. 190.

HUMEZ, p. 99, var. read. to l. 190.

HUMFRANVILE, p. 72, l. 1597.

HUMFREI DE BOÜN (Humphrey de Bohun, lord high constable of England), p. 36, l. 783; p. 38, l. 799, 801, 807, 810, 823, 836; p. 46, l. 982, 1020; p. 48, l. 1033, 1056; p. 50, l. 1082; p. 70, l. 1548.

HUMFRENVILE, p. 110, var. read. to l. 1597.

HUNFRENVIL, p. 112, var. read. to l. 1778.

HUNTEDUNE (Huntingdon), p. 50, l. 1110; p. 52, l. 1122.

HUSEVILE, p. 20, l. 423.

I

IGLISE (the Church), p. 32, l. 682; p. 42, l. 900; p. 50, l. 1104; p. 52, l. 1142.

J

Jacme (James, a saint), p. 32, l. 672; p. 60, l. 1324.
Jesus (Our Saviour), p. 24, l. 515; p. 54, l. 1162; p. 58, l. 1268.
Jordan Fantosme (the author of the poem), p. 24, l. 521; p. 42, l. 903.
Juis (the last Judgment), p. 68, l. 1480.
Jurdan Fantosme (the author of the poem), p. 105, var. read. to l. 903.

K

Kaledene (Caldenlè, in Selkirkshire), p. 101, var. read. to l. 469.
Karduil, Kardul (Carlisle), p. 14, l. 268; p. 28, l. 587, 611; p. 66, l. 1443; p. 72, l. 1584; p. 109, var. read. to l. 1335, 1424, 1434; p. 110, var. read. to l. 1576; p. 111, var. read. to l. 1641.
Keledenelee (Caldenlè, in Selkirkshire), p. 22, l. 469.

L

Lanceles, p. 84, l. 1856.
Leecestre (Leicester), p. 98, var. read. to l. 105.
Leicestre (Leicester), p. 44, l. 947.
Leircestre (Leicester), p. 6, l. 5; p. 36, l. 789; p. 38, l. 819; p. 40, l. 857, 867, 881; p. 44, l. 968; p. 46, l. 993, 1008; p. 48, l. 1022; p. 50, l. 1067; p. 52, l. 1115, 1123; p. 92, l. 2041; p. 105, var. read. to l. 947.
Leire (Loire, a large river of France), p. 2, l. 25.
Levenax (Lennox), p. 50, l. 1109; p. 107, var. read. to l. 1109.
Lohereng (Lorrain, native from Lorraine, a province of France), p. 42, l. 897.
Lowis de France (Louis VII, king of France), p. 4, l. 31, 35, 70; p. 6, l. 85, 100; p. 8, l. 133; p. 12, l. 248; p. 20, l. 435; p. 22, l. 455.
Luce, p. 104, var. read. to l. 792.
Luci, p. 34, l. 723; p. 36, l. 767, 785, 792; p. 38, l. 806, 810, 824, 833; p. 68, l. 1515; p. 70, l. 1520, 1529, 1536, 1541; p. 72, l. 1561; p. 74, l. 1627, 1634.
Lumbart (Lombard), p. 48, l. 1059.
Lundres (London), p. 42, l. 912, 919; p. 44, l. 970; p. 74, l. 1608, 1618, 1621; p. 88, l. 1922, 1928; p. 111, var. read. to l. 1633.
Lundreis (inhabitants of London), p. 88, l. 1943, 1948; p. 114, var. read. to l. 1928.

M

Magdaleine, p. 32, l. 694.
Mahalt (empress Maud, mother to king Henry II), p. 18, l. 383; p. 32, l. 677; p. 94, l. 2056; p. 100, var. read. to l. 383.
Mahaut (Empress Maud), p. 68, l. 1472.
Maheu de Buluine (Matthew d'Alsace, earl of Boulogne), p. 2, l. 29; p. 6, l. 87, 93.

MAHUT (empress Maud), p. 103, var. read. to l. 677.
MALUVEL, p. 86, l. 1878.
MARCHIS (Border-men), p. 56, l. 1202,; p. 68, l. 1486; p. 76, l. 1665.
MARIE (the holy Virgin), p. 18, l. 390; p. 32, l. 688; p. 54, l. 1162.
MARIE MAGDALEINE (a saint), p. 32, l. 694.
MORTEMER, p. 84, l. 1864.
MOYSANT (Moses, the legislator of the Hebrews), p. 6, l. 13.
MUNBRAI, p. 44, l. 961; p. 60, l. 1326; p. 62, l. 1338, 1346; p. 68, l. 1476; p. 84, l. 1841; p. 88, l. 1952.
MUNFICHET, p. 74, l. 1615.
MUNPELLER (Montpellier, the capital town of the department of the Herault), p. 105, var. read. to l. 908.
MUNTPESLIER (Montpellier), p. 42, l. 908.
MURAIVE (Moray), p. 22, l. 472.
MURREVE (*idem*), p. 101, var. read. to l. 472.

N

NICHOLE (Lincoln), p. 110, var. read. to l. 1556.
NINCOLE (Lincoln), p. 70, l. 1556.
NOEF-CHASTEL-SUR-TINE (Newcastle-on-Tyne), p. 26, l. 567; p. 28, l. 583; p. 72, l. 1598; p. 78, l. 1724; p. 82, l. 1829; p. 86, l. 1914; p. 90, l. 1991.
NORAMTHUNE (Northampton), p. 107, var. read. to l. 1125.
NOREWIZ (Norwich, Norfolk), p. 42, l. 889, 895.
NORFAUKE (Norfolk), p. 105, var. read. to l. 909.
NORFOUKE (Norfolk), p. 105, var. read. to l. 948.
NORHUMBERLAND (Northumberland), p. 100, var. read. to l. 298, 333; p. 102, var. read. to l. 504; p. 104, var. read. to l. 772; p. 112, var. read. to l. 1756.
NORMAN, p. 10, l. 170, 171.
NORMENDIE (Normandy), p. 4, l. 55; p. 8, l. 121; p. 10, l. 169, 200; p. 12, l. 296; p. 16, l. 320; p. 18, l. 355; p. 20, l. 411; p. 32, l. 676; p. 44, l. 949, 967; p. 52, l. 1112; p. 94, l. 2063.
NORMUNDIE (Normandy), p. 99, var. read. to l. 169, 200; p. 100, var. read. to l. 296, 355; p. 103, var. read. to l. 676; p. 107, var. read. to l. 1112.
NORTHAMTUNE (Northampton), p. 52, l. 1125.
NORTHFOLKE (Norfolk), p. 42, l. 909; p. 44, l. 948.
NORTHUMBERLAND, NORTHUMBERLANDE, p. 14, l. 298; p. 16, l. 333; p. 24, l. 504, 518, 522; p. 26, l. 532; p. 28, l. 609; p. 36, l. 772; p. 38, l. 802, 808, 835; p. 52, l. 1147; p. 72, l. 1596; p. 80, l. 1756.
NORTH-WALES, p. 38, l. 820.
NORWIZ (Norwich), p. 105, var. read. to l. 889, 895.
NOTINGEHAM (Nottingham), p. 52, l. 1124.
NOTINGHAM, p. 106, var. read. to l. 1124.

O

ODART, p. 32, l. 665.
ODENEL DE UMFRANVILE (lord of Prudhoe), p. 111, var. read. to l. 1652, 1662, 1678; p. 112, var. read. to l. 1716, 1735, 1748, 1778; p. 113, var. read. to l. 1897; p. 114, var. read. to l. 1992.

Odinel de Umfranvile (*idem*), p. 28, l. 594; p. 72, l. 1597; p. 74, l. 1649; p. 76, l. 1652, 1654, 1661, 1662, 1669, 1671, 1678, 1691; p. 78, l. 1696, 1716, 1725, 1735; p. 80, l. 1748, 1778; p. 86, l. 1897; p. 90, l. 1992.
Oliver (one of Charlemagne's peers), p. 98, var. read. to l. 115.
Olivier (*idem*), p. 6, l. 115.
Orkanie (Orkney), p. 100, var. read. to l. 360.
Orkenie (Orkney), p. 18, l. 360.

P

Paterne (God the Father), p. 26, l. 548.
Phelipe, Phelippe, Phelippun (the count of Flanders), p. 6, l. 86, 101, 120; p. 22, l. 438; p. 98, var. read. to l. 101. See Flandres.
Philipe (the count of Flanders), p. 22, l. 440, 454.
Philippe (*idem*), p. 97, var. read. to l. 28.
Piere (a saint), p. 10, l. 203.
Port, Porz, p. 62, l. 1340, 1347; p. 84, l. 1846, 1850; p. 113, var. read. to l. 1846, 1850.
Prudhume (Prudhoe, a village of Northumberland), p. 28, l. 603.
Pruedhume (Prudhoe), p. 76, l. 1676.
Puier (the people of Poix, in Picardy), p. 46, l. 998.

R

Randolf, Randulf de Glanvile, Randulfe de Glamvile (sheriff of Yorkshire), p. 72, l. 1568; p. 78, l. 1718; p. 80, l. 1744, 1766; p. 82, l. 1811, 1817, 1819, 1823; p. 86, l. 1915; p. 90, l. 1969, 1982; p. 94, l. 2058, 2060, 2066; p. 112, var. read. to l. 1718, 1819.
Raüf de Feugere (Raoul II, baron of Fougères), p. 98, var. read. to l. 142.
Raül de Feulgiere (*idem*), p. 8, l. 142; p. 10, l. 172, 177, 195, 202; p. 12, l. 228.
Raül le Rus, p. 84, l. 1874.
Reis omnipotent (God), p. 48, l. 1039.
Richard, Richart de Luci (Chief-Justice of England), p. 36, l. 767, 785, 792; p. 38, l. 806, 810, 824, 833; p. 68, l. 1515; p. 70, l. 1520, 1529, 1536, 1540; p. 72, l. 1561; p. 74, l. 1627, 1634.
Richart, p. 26, l. 564, 566; p. 80, l. 1749.
Richart Maluvel, p. 86, l. 1878, 1888.
Richemunt (Richmond, a borough of Yorkshire), p. 72, l. 1568, 1594; p. 86, l. 1916; p. 90, l. 1990.
Robert, p. 46, l. 1016; p. 48, l. 1038.
Robert (Robert-aux-Blanches-Mains, earl of Leicester), p. 38, l. 840; p. 40, l. 880; p. 48, l. 1051; p. 50, l. 1078, 1098. See Leircestre.
Robert de Husevile (a knight, messenger from William the Lion to young Henry), p. 20, l. 423.
Robert de Vaus (sheriff of Cumberland), p. 28, l. 588, 614; p. 30, l. 621; p. 32, l. 664; p. 36, l. 760; p. 38, l. 814; p. 62, l. 1356, 1365, 1374; p. 64, l. 1385, 1388, 1389, 1445; p. 66, l. 1442, 1447, 1462; p. 68, l. 1513; p. 70, l. 1527; p. 72, l. 1569, 1572, 1577, 1592; p. 74, l. 1635, 1638, 1643.
Robert le fiz Bernart, p. 48, l. 1057.

ROCHBURC (Roxburgh), p. 108, var. read. to l. 1284.
RODLANT (Charlemagne's nephew), p. 6, l. 115.
ROEM (Rouen in Normandy), p. 10, l. 200; p. 74, l. 1625; p. 92, l. 2051; p. 94, l. 2068.
ROGIER (archbishop of York), p. 92, l. 2031.
ROGIER DE MUNBRAI, p. 44, l. 961, 971; p. 60, l. 1326; p. 62, l. 1338, 1346, 1360; p. 68, l. 1476; p. 84, l. 1841; p. 88, l. 1952.
ROGIER D'ESTUTEVILE, p. 24, l. 483, 488, 492, 505, 517, 523; p. 52, l. 1151, 1154; p. 54, l. 1178, 1197; p. 56, l. 1203, 1224, 1240; p. 58, l. 1270, 1275; p. 60, l. 1293, 1313; p. 72, l. 1565, 1567.
ROGIER LE BIGOT, p. 48, l. 1035, 1053; p. 50, l. 1084; p. 72, l. 1563.
ROGIER LE FIZ RICHART (lord of Newcastle-on-Tyne), p. 26, l. 564, 566; p. 80, l. 1749.
ROKEBURC (Roxburgh), p. 103, var. read. to l. 730, 754; p. 108, var. read. to l. 1297.
ROKESBURC (Roxburgh), p. 34, l. 730; p. 36, l. 754; p. 58, l. 1284; p. 60, l. 1297.
ROLANT (Charlemagne's nephew), p. 98, var. read. to l. 115.
ROM (Rouen in Normandy), p. 99, var. read. to l. 200; p. 74, var. read. to l. 1625; p. 115, var. read. to l. 2051.
ROS (Ross), p. 22, l. 472.
RUS, p. 84, l. 1874.

S

SAINT-DENIS (a town of France, near Paris), p. 2, l. 26; p. 4, l. 31, 46, 72; p. 74, l. 1631.
SAINT-DEONIS, SENT-DEONIS (a town of France, near Paris), p. 97, var. read. to l. 26, and 46; p. 111, var. read. to l. 1631.
SAINT-EDMUND, SEINT-EDMUND (Bury Saint-Edmund's), p. 46, l. 1005, 1014; p. 106, var. read. to l. 1014.
SAINT-LAURENZ, SAINT-LORENZ, SEINT-LAUERENZ (a monastery of Warkworth), p. 78, l. 1707; p. 86, l. 1903; p. 112, var. read. to l. 1707.
SAINT-MICHIEL, p. 20, l. 422.
SALEMUN LE SAGE (Solomon, king of the Jews), p. 22, l. 465.
SALERNE (Salerno in Italy), p. 60, l. 1320.
SIMUN DE VAHILLE, p. 50, l. 1075.
SUART (Siward?), p. 48, l. 1063.
SUDHAMTUNE (Southampton, in Hampshire), p. 115, var. read. to l. 2057.
SUFFOKE (Suffolk), p. 104, var. read. to l. 841.
SUFOLKE (*idem*), p. 40, l. 841.
SUHAMTUNE, SUHANTUNE (Southampton), p. 92, l. 2055; p. 94, l. 2057; p. 115, var. read. to l. 2055.
SUPLEST, p. 88, l. 1941.
SURREIS (men of Surrey), p. 34, l. 735.

T

TANKARVILE, p. 6, l. 6.
TANKERVILE, p. 98, var. read. to l. 106.
TEBALD DE FRANCE (Thibaut V, count of Blois and Chartres), p. 97, var. read. to l. 44.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 4, l. 32. This line is a duplicate of another which is the 43d, and which stands there in its right place. The transcriber was misled by the word *saint Denis*, which terminates the preceding line in both cases. This observation ought to have been made at p. 97, where we have remarked that l. 32 is wanting in the Lincoln ms.

Page 16, l. 334, etc. Perhaps it would have been better to point these lines thus:

> Kar nul n'i ad si grant raisun. E ki l' volsist chalengier,
> Ore veez-mei ci en vostre curt, terme avant ne quier, *etc.*

and to translate in this way:

> For nobody has such a right to it. And if any body wished to challenge it, *etc.*

This observation should be made p. 100, where we have mentioned that the particle *e* of l. 334 is wanting in the Lincoln ms., which causes us to think that our first translation is the best, at least concerning the text of the last manuscript.

Page 16, l. 337. Put a comma after the word *faire*, as we did in the translation.

Page 40, l. 868. Read *drescier* instead of *dressier*, which is an error of the press.

Page 42, l. 894. In some copies the *e* of *vaillance* was taken off in the press.

Page 42, l. 900. Read *Iglise* with a capital.

Page 62, l. 1347. Read *Marchiz* with a capital, as well as p. 68, l. 1486.

Page 84, l. 1861. Perhaps *séu* is the participe of the verb *suivre*, and consequently the line ought to be translated:

> If the king had followed him, *etc.*

Page 86, l. 1877. We are afraid we have not very well understood this line, of which the last hemistich ought perhaps to be translated thus: "he paid very dear for it."

Page 88, l. 1950. Sic ms. We think that it would be better to read *en irrur*, and to translate *vexed*.

Page 104, var. read. to l. 808. Read *Boün*.

Page 113, var. read. to l. 1875. " Il acumpera, *ibid.*" belongs not to this line, but to l. 1877, p. 86.

Page 118, l. 7. We give here the passage of John of Salisbury to which we refer in this phrase:

" Unde, ut asserebat illustris Blesensium comes Theobaldus, princeps quidem justitiæ amator, et juris Cismontani peritissimus "... *Ioan. Saresb. Epistolæ*, ed. Ioan. Massono, p. 178.

Page 120, 121. We have collected a great many other passages of the same kind, but we will give only the following:

Si me puist Diex hui m'onor rendre,
Et tes cors puist as forces pendre.
(*Roman du comte de Poitiers*, p. 47, v. 1111.)

Page 138, note on *nul d'ure*. To the passage quoted in this note, we may add the following which seems to refer to the subject:

Trop ben garnida la troberon
E de tapitz e de bancals
E de bels cubertors rials,
De verdiers e de garnimens;
Mais no us cal *dur* los paramens.
(*Roman de Flamenca*, ms. of the public library of Carcassonne, n° 681, folio cii recto, l. 26.)

Page 210, note, l. 2. After l. 24, add: " ; and in John Brompton's annals (*Hist. Anglic. Script. X*, col. 1104, l. 2 — col. 105, l. 57)."

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THE END.

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